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A NARRATIVE  
OF  
**Events and Difficulties**  
IN THE  
COLONIZATION OF OREGON,  
AND THE  
SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA;  
AND, ALSO,  
A HISTORY OF THE CLAIM OF AMERICAN CITIZENS TO  
LANDS ON QUADRA'S ISLAND;  
TOGETHER WITH  
AN ACCOUNT OF THE TROUBLES AND TRIBULATIONS  
ENDURED BETWEEN THE YEARS 1824 AND  
1852, BY THE WRITER,  
HALL J. KELLEY.

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BOSTON:  
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THE NEWBERRY  
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# NARRATIVE.

## CHAPTER I.

THE colonization of Oregon was both conceived and achieved by me.\* History records, that the strongest inducement for the founding of the first settlement in New England, was "the hope of laying a foundation for the advancement of religion and the kingdom of Christ." The hope of accomplishing the same thing on the other side of the "new world," chiefly induced the "services and sacrifices" so freely made by me. That colonization was an up-hill work, performed in the way and manner stated in my memorials of the last thirteen years before Congress. It was performed alone, without a single coadjutor to go with and stand by me. It required great sacrifices of time and property, and extraordinary personal efforts, on account of the war waged against it, — the opposition by the North-west coast traders and the friends and hirelings of the Hudson Bay Company, men interested to thwart my movements and to crush the undertaking. Though powerfully oppugned, it was not a little encouraged by *members and committees of Congress*† and by the

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\* See Hist. of the Colonization of Oregon, p. 5.

† The Hon. E. Everett, Chairman of the Library Committee, was instructed to communicate to me that the committee had placed at my disposal a set of the laws of the United States; and Mr. Archer, chairman of Committee on Foreign Affairs, was instructed to say, that protection would be given to any settlement which I might make in Oregon.

*heads* of some of the *executive departments* ; and my hands were strengthened by a few true-hearted and public-spirited citizens.

My early efforts were made known in newspaper articles, lectures, circulars, pamphlets, books, memorials to Congress, and in a general correspondence with citizens in all parts of the Union, and with enterprising Frenchmen and Germans. Nothing was concealed from the public view. Every minutia, either in plan or purpose, was exposed to the scrutiny and exposition of adversaries. There were other objects than that of making the great natural resources of Oregon available to purposes of individual and national prosperity. The improvement of the condition, moral, social, and physical, of the Indians, was a heart-felt object. I was impatient to effect that object, and hastened forward to begin to rescue from the ruthless power of white men, and to save from utter extermination the woful remnant of the benighted and suffering people on our western frontier ; and to enlighten, dignify, and make them happy. (For plan, see Appendix.)

While in the prosecution of the enterprise, it did not so much as enter my mind ever to apply to Congress for relief, or a reward for any services or sacrifices which I might render the country ; but, after its achievement, and my return home, in 1836,—finding my health greatly impaired, my property, and the very means of acquiring property, gone ; and considering the nature of the circumstances which prevented the selection and occupancy of a lot of land in the Valley of the Wallamet,\* and also the circumstances which deprived me of a participation in the abundant harvest of the fields I had sown, I thought it my duty to apply for help ; and accordingly, in 1839, did

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\* Capt. Meek, the Oregon agent at Washington, in 1848, said, that the lands belonging to the first settlers were of great value, being of the first choice and of the best quality. Each lot, he said, might be reasonably estimated at \$20,000.

A lot of no more than the size confirmed by the government to each person of that colony, made by me, and at my expense, would have been worth, long before this, from \$20,000 to \$30,000.

apply. I then, as now, asked a donation, in land or money, sufficient to supply me awhile with a competency of bread, and to cancel debts contracted when preparing for the execution of that work of country and humanity.

The first petition was presented in the Senate, and referred to the select committee on Oregon. It set forth the things done and suffered in colonizing Oregon, and in bringing about the settlement of High California.\* Accompanying documents substantiated its allegations, and verified every statement. The chairman of the committee being satisfied of this fact, wrote me, in 1840, as follows:—“When any thing definite is done,” (referring to the ‘Oregon question,’) “your claims will then present themselves, with a power not to be resisted, upon the government; and should I remain in Congress, you may depend on, at least, my assistance.”

“Feeling deep sympathy for your losses, hardships, and afflictions, I remain ———.”

I had considered well the nature of the enterprise, and foresaw its results, and was inspired with the hope that it would in no inconsiderable degree contribute to the amount of means divinely used for hastening the spread of Christianity, with civil freedom, over the world. I counted the cost, and was ready to make the sacrifice.

In 1824, beyond providing for my household, I resolved to devote myself wholly to the enterprise; and declined every proffer of business, or of silver and gold, which might turn my attention from it. The strength of that resolution was, in 1830, brought to a test. In that year, I was invited to take the lead of things in Texas; and was pressed hard to engage in that service, — was offered

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\* It was originally my *purpose* to follow the settlement of Oregon, with that of Alta California. I could foresee that the tide of emigration to the former, when setting high, would break across the Sierra Nevada, and flow into the latter. One of the objects of my circuitous route through the city of Mexico and the Californias, was to make arrangements for accomplishing that purpose. See Appendix, under the head, SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA.

in the outset, as compensation for the first year, in lands and money, what was equivalent to \$20,000,—so considered by one of the directors of the society instituted in New York, engaged in settling that country. No considerations of a worldly nature could turn me from the field where I had commenced labor, and hoped to make myself eminently useful.

I was called to sacrifice domestic comforts and felicities, and the social enjoyments clustering about home. Seeing me not inclined to give up high aspirations and philanthropic projects, and to come down to less honorable and dignified pursuits; and to make the acquisition of property my chief aim and object, kindred and friends forsook me. Had their advice been closely followed, things, possibly, would have gone well with me, excepting the cares and anxieties incidental to the possession of wealth, and a constant quarrel with conscience.

The enterprise required me to sacrifice greatly on real estate. There was a loss of several thousand dollars on my estate in Milk Row, Charlestown; but, much more on other estates. There were four,\* which alone, could the time have been spared to look after them a few years longer, would have made me wealthy. They had been purchased in anticipation of improvements which it was supposed would much enhance their value. Their worth to me, in 1840 and after, would have been \$50,000 over the amount of their first cost. However, I was in haste, and could not be delayed; and therefore, gave them up to creditors and brutish men; the latter fiercely grasping after them, partly with a view to impoverish me, and to break down the spirit of enterprise within me.

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\* One comprised twelve acres of land; and is situate near Cragie's Point, in Charlestown. It is intersected with a railroad; and made the foundation of a pleasant village. The other three consisted of houses and lands, situate in Boston, where at this time are the Lowell, the Eastern, and the Western railroad depots.



## EXPENDITURES AND LOSSES IN TIME AND PROPERTY.

*The Public**To Enterprise, Dr.*

Eleven years, up to 1836, at \$2000 per year, — a reasonable ratio, considering what I could have realized, if in health, at railroad engineering . . . . .	\$22,000
Fifteen years, up to 1852, (the year 1837 serving at my professional business, is not reckoned,) at \$1500 per year . . . . .	22,500
Publishing books and tracts, which were spread about the country, especially among the public men at Washington . . . . .	500
Travelling for the purpose of lecturing, or rather talking, to awaken attention to the objects of the enterprise, and to enlist settlers . . . . .	200
Expenses at Washington, several sessions of Congress, to enlighten concerning the interests of the United States in Oregon, and to secure public patronage . . . . .	500
The prices of two shares of the Oregon stock, and five certificates, * the one \$100, the other \$20 each, lawfully issued by the "Oregon Colonization Society," incorporated in 1831; sold by the general agent of the society . . . . .	300
Loss on the brig "John Q. Adams," in 1832 . . . . .	300
Loss at Three Rivers, Palmer, in 1832 . . . . .	300
Loss at New Orleans, in 1833 . . . . .	300
Loss at Vera Cruz . . . . .	1150
Loss by robbers, near Salamanca, Mexico . . . . .	200
	<hr/>
	\$48,250
Interest on the several sums as above stated to 1852, about . . . . .	81,000
	<hr/>
	Amount, \$132,250

These are the sacrifices directly made; and they include none of the hardships and sufferings of the lonely and perilous journey of six thousand miles, much of which was made through a wilderness, and through countries infested with bands of savage men, — none of the domestic afflictions brought upon me by the enemies of the enterprise, — nothing of this twenty years of terrible persecution.

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\* Immediately after the Oregon expedition was broken up, the amount received for stock and certificates was refunded, all but the above, which, circumstances rendered inconvenient and improper then to restore. When able, I shall refund them.

## CHAPTER II.

REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES BETWEEN THE YEARS 1825 AND 1835.

IN early youth, separating from idle companions, and leaving the sports and frivolities of boyhood, I began to walk alone, and to consider on days to come. At the age of twelve, it divinely happened to me, as never before, nor since; I was then premonished of what was to be the manner of my life—an entire dependence on God for help to do, in accordance with his will, the things which my hands should find to do; and so it came to pass. I have been all day, at laborious service in the field, and no fellow-mortal has wrought with me; but many have been about, to hinder, to vex, and to crush me. The Almighty has sustained me; and in benevolent enterprises, and acts of brotherly kindness, has made me “strong as a lion and swift as an eagle.”

The ways of a righteous Providence are inscrutable to mortals. In all my past career they have seemed particularly and wonderfully merciful, yet mysterious. I talk of great achievements, yet am I one of the least of the instrumentalities employed in the spreading of knowledge, and the advancing of the work of the Redeemer's kingdom. When feeling the *strongest*, I am made the most sensible of *weakness*; when *proud*, am made *humble*. Once, I *increased in riches*, “grew fat and kicked against the Lord,” and my adversaries came, and *took away my possessions*. Confident in my abilities to declaim and, otherwise, to hold forth before the public on the side of philanthropy; and, great *diffidence* came upon me. After some mortifying failures, I learned to be silent, was more wise, cared less to make an *outside show*,\* and more to

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\* Since these events, I have been unable to *converse* without *stammering*, or to *write readily*, or adorn my compositions with the ordinary embellishments of rhetoric.

I never had skill at composition; my thoughts being always occupied

make *faith* and *works* my *worth*. I began to *boast* of what my communications with intelligent and public-spirited men, and my books and tracts, spread about the land, were effecting in the field of benevolent enterprise, withholding from the Mighty and Beneficent God too much of the praise due him; and I was smitten by the hand of the Lord; and become, comparatively, dumb before the people. My mind, between the years 1830 and 1835, was thrice terribly shocked; and physical nature, partially paralyzed by the thunder of my cruel enemies' power. The chastisements of the Lord, and His great mercies during the period of entire devotion to the work of colonizing Oregon, kept the spirit up and active, and made me a better man.

When travelling in distracted Mexico, in 1833, I fell among robbers; and was a night and day in their power; but God broke up their plans, and delivered me with my beasts and baggage from their bloody hands, even without so much as the loss of a hair of my head.

Once, the rifle was discharged upon me; but the death-bound bullet was made to miss the mark.

The most remarkable interposing providence in the course of my perilous adventures, in the wilderness, occurred just after crossing the Sierra Nevada, and entering Oregon. I will relate the particulars. My party was providentially made to halt at the very moment when the fever and ague contracted, while on the low and pestilential tracts on the southern region of the Sacramento Valley, was having its worst effect upon me; and when I

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in other business. My aspiration has been, more to the attainment of preëminence as an *architect* than as a *painter*. For the business of the former, I think I have been measurably qualified with science and skill; while, in that of the latter, have been, an ordinary performer. My structures have, uniformly, been well planned, and made of durable materials; but my enemies, taking advantage of the homely appearance my brush has given them, have not a little injured my reputation. Seeking constantly to do me harm, they have ascribed every work of magnificence and utility performed by me, to the skill and industry of persons, who have not had mind enough to plan or execute the least of them.

could no longer be borne on horseback. My strength had rapidly wasted, and at times, I fainted and fell from the saddle.

While in a thickly wooded mountain, it suddenly came on dark, and we were obliged to stop for the night, in the midst of woods and thick darkness. Lowering partly down from the animal, I fell; the stones and leaves on which I fell composed my bed. In the morning, it was found that some of the horses and packed mules had strayed away. We, however, proceeded on two or three miles, and encamped on an open patch of ground. Capt. Young, my conductor,\* and the men who had been of his hunting party, returned to the mountains to search after the lost animals. This caused a *delay*. The five marauders who had attached themselves to my party, two days after leaving the Bay of San Francisco, remained in camp, and were jocose and profane about the fire. I was now shaking like an aspen leaf, prostrate and helpless in my tent.

The place of this encampment was upon the high land near the sources of the principal rivers watering the two countries, to settle which, I had spent my best days, my fortune, and all my earthly comforts. Death appeared inevitable; earth seemed at an end; and the portal of glory, to be opening. Conversation in the camp paused; and now, an angel came to comfort me — “Cheer up, be not afraid;” “Balm and a physician” are here; “God is thy helper, and he will deliver thee.” In the solitude of that wilderness, where none but Indians and hunters had roamed — at that still moment, I heard from a short distance, that shrill voice, so often heard in *civilized lands* — even the voice of a cockerel, a *domestic* bird, a *chieftain* among his race, so wont to celebrate his own triumphs, now loudly crowing, as though exulting in the triumphs of my enterprise, and proclaiming, “Now it is achieved; now, *in this wilderness*, is fixed thy abode of *civilization*;

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\* See *unprinted* paper E, Appendix, Slamm’s Report, Senate Document, 1837-8, No. 24.

now, and henceforth, my voice and the voice of the turtle-dove shall be heard in this land." Though cheering, yet it was painful, like other associations which it caused to crowd into the mind. Then, suddenly, another voice was heard. A stranger coming into the camp, inquired — "Where is Capt. Kelley?" He came to my tent and said he was Capt. La Flambois, from the Columbia River; and had been with his party of trappers to the Bay of San Francisco, where he had heard of me; and that, he had *hastened* to overtake my party, having had nothing more for his guide than the traces of our encampments. He kindly took charge of my effects, and removed me to his camp. This good Samaritan first administered a dish of venison broth; and then, in proper time, a portion of quinine. The third portion, taken on the second day, dismissed the endemic monster. After two days at that place, I was able to stand upon my legs, but, unable to walk. Before leaving the ever-memorable spot where my immortal spirit had nigh taken its departure from earth, the Captain engaged an Indian chief to take me in a canoe, forty or fifty miles down the Umpqua. At first the chief declined, saying, that the upper part of the river was not navigable. Finally, in view of a bountiful reward, he consented to try. In the morning, I was placed on my mule, and borne six miles to the place of embarkation. The chief at one end, his son at the other, and myself sitting upright in the centre of the boat, we floated swiftly along the current. The hoary-headed chief, with wonderful skill, descended the rapids. Often was he in the foaming stream, holding on to the bow to save the boat from pitching or sinking into the angry flood. The voyage was made in a day and a half, and there was much, in that time, to cheer my spirits, and give me strength. The heavens were serene, the air salubrious, and the country on both sides was charming. At the landing, the faithful Indian received of my property, a fine horse, saddle and bridle, a salmon knife and a scarlet velvet sash, and was satisfied. Rondeau, whom the Captain had appointed to be my attendant and guide, was ready at the

bank to conduct me, a few miles distant, to the camp of my new party. I mounted with a little help, and rode off, feeling like a new man.

My journeying in that wilderness, was full of interesting incidents, and things terrible. That my adversaries in Oregon conspired against my life, is to me clearly evident; and I have a reasonable suspicion that the feeble health which I have continued to suffer, the last eighteen years, is the effect of poison administered about the time of my departure from that land.

The manner they treated me was worse than brutal. It was their *cupidity* after *Quadra's Island* which led them on. It was this which gave great energy to their motives; and made them fierce and resolute in abuse and outrage upon me. The result of hardships and their cruelties, is a *nervous affection* in the head, and *physical debilities*. Though the *body is made feeble*, and the *head confused*, yet the *heart is pure*, and the *hands clean*, and the spirit within remains inflexible and invincible on the side of truth. Finally, a merciful Providence interposed for me. The Mighty God, who will blast the hopes of my enemies and "bring their lofty looks to the dust," saved me.

"Let not man glory in his wisdom, nor the mighty man in his might, nor the rich man in his riches, but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise loving-kindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord."

## CHAPTER III.

INSULTS AND ABUSES — A SYSTEM OF UNKIND DEALING UNCOMMON  
AMONG MEN.

THE ill success attending my application, before Congress, the last thirteen years, for relief, is chiefly attributable to influences working on both sides of the continent, to prevent a just consideration of meritorious services in behalf of my country, and mankind; and otherwise, to injure me.

I have no enemies, it is presumed, in the halls of Congress. The illustrious persons, there, have been deceived in like manner with multitudes of other just persons, elsewhere.

It grieves me to see how prejudiced have become the minds of the most candid of my acquaintance. Although the very secrets of my conduct have been before the eyes of the public; and, I have been uniformly actuated by motives of patriotism and philanthropy; and, in all my career, have been devoted to the interests of man; yet, they seem to see nothing to entitle me to their esteem, or to the common sympathies of their nature. Therefore, am I misjudged.

Soon after my achievements in Oregon, and return home, the friends and hirelings of the Hudson Bay Company began again to trouble me. Doubtless, they were instructed so to do; and to pursue a more merciless policy toward me. Previous to that time, as far back as the public announcement of my purpose to settle Oregon, those men began to follow me about, and to abuse me at every turn. Their object, then, was more to break up the *enterprise*, than to break down its author; but, after the infant was born, seeing it fair, and fast growing to manhood; and nothing could prevent it, they turned furiously upon its sire; and sought, in every way their evil hearts could devise, to destroy, literally, to destroy him.

The company's cupidity reaching after the *lands* belonging to *American citizens*, on Quadra's Island, is the origin of the renewed hostilities. Here is identified the *primum mobile* of the cruelties which, for the last eighteen years, have been practised upon me. "But what has that cupidity," inquires a friend, "to do with you? How and by whom are you cruelly treated?" I will, here, explain. In Oregon, at the time of my arrival at Vancouver, I was suffering bodily debility, for which the best available remedy would have been nourishing food, and moderate and habitual exercise in the open air. Nevertheless, I was thrust into the Company's hospital. I consented, though unwillingly, and was kept there while a sufficient opportunity was afforded to overhaul my baggage, and to examine its contents. In a trunk made of a wild bull's hide, were deeds, charts, historical accounts, and other papers, showing myself to be in possession of the *evidences of a good title in the Americans to the fairest portions of the island just named*; and also, showing myself to be the *attorney and advocate* of the claimants. After the discoveries in the baggage, measures were immediately taken by the chief factor of the company, to prevent intercourse and concert of action between me and my settlers; believing, as undoubtedly he did, that to put Kelley *out of the way* would render it less difficult to break up the settlement, and to retard emigration; and to perpetuate the Company's hold upon the lands belonging to the Americans. Wherefore, I was represented as an impostor, and as slandering the settlers, who, becoming incensed against me, threatened, by letter and otherwise, to take my life. The orders, then, were — destroy him, and destroy the nucleus of the settlement. Martyrdom seemed inevitable. The orders, afterwards, in this country, were — treat him, at all times, and in all places,\* with insult and abuse; fol-

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\* I am greatly injured in character and property, particularly in Boston and Palmer. The latter is the town of my present residence. See pamphlet attached to this book, entitled, "Letters from an afflicted Husband to an estranged Wife." See also, the Appendix to that pamphlet, wherein is given a detail of the particulars of "hard usage."



low him hard up with calumny and outrage; and break him down, mind and body, — utterly destroy him.

Some of those who devise my hurt are wealthy merchants in our chief cities, participating in the profits and loss of the business of the Company. Others are such unprincipled men as favors or portions of the Company's secret fund\* (\$800,000) can easily induce to act against me.

These, all have concerted together, not only to destroy public confidence in my statements, and to conceal the facts supporting the rights of their countrymen on Quadra's

\* I was told, in 1834, by those who knew the facts, that the objects of this fund were to turn from the coast, American vessels; and to keep off competition in the Indian trade; and to prevent settlements being made in the "Hudson Bay Company's Territories;" and, otherwise, clandestinely to be used in promoting the interests of the Company.

Authors of books concerning affairs in Oregon, have mentioned the same fact. It is stated in the "Ten Years in Oregon," p. 78, by Daniel Lee, that "The Hudson Bay Company possess a fund of *two million sterling*, for the purpose of competing with every vessel that may come upon the coast for trade," and "to control the destinies of Oregon." It is, also, stated in some publication by J. K. Townsend, as follows:— "Travellers, naturalists, and all who are not traders, are kindly and most hospitably treated; but, the moment the visitor is known to trade a beaver-skin from an Indian, that moment he is ejected from the community, and all communication between him and the officers of the Company ceases. When Captain Wyeth, with his party, arrived at Walla-Walla fort, on his passage down the Columbia, he was required by the superintendent to *promise* that during his journey from thence to Vancouver — three hundred miles — he *would not buy a beaver-skin*; the functionary assuring him that unless he consented so to bind himself, he would send a party ahead of him, which would be instructed to purchase every beaver-skin from the Indians on the route at a price which he (Wyeth) could not afford to pay. It is a fact, notorious in that country, that the honorable Company has a *sum of money, amounting to several hundred thousand pounds sterling*, laid aside at Vancouver, for the sole purpose of opposing all who may come to *interfere with its monopoly*, by purchasing at exorbitant prices all the furs in possession of the Indians, and thus forcing the settler to come to terms, or *driving him from the country*. If it be an individual who is thus starved into submission, he then usually clears a piece of land on the Wallamet River, takes an Indian wife, and purchases furs of the natives, which, by previous contract, he is bound to sell to the Company, at an advance which is fixed by the Governor."

Island, but to deceive our national legislators both concerning those rights and my individual claims on the country. With hearts as hard and as cold as the ice of Greenland, they have long continued to treat me more uncivilly than I treat my dog, and more unfeelingly than I treat the viper that bites me. They have brought upon me the greatest of evils; and, they are the bloody butchers of my earthly enjoyments.

Taking advantage of my friendless condition, and the merciful forbearance manifested towards them; and also, of the direful misfortunes which they themselves have brought upon me; they have succeeded to impress the minds of multitudes with the belief, that I am, just what I am not; and to be deserving of no better treatment than what I am receiving from them. Now their mockeries and abuse have become intolerable. I never speak in malice, nor am I ever provoked to revenge, and can brook insults and impositions as long as any man; but, truly, forbearance has ceased to be a virtue; and it behooves me, severely to rebuke them, and publicly to demonstrate the reality of the monstrous evils which they have done and are doing me. There are a few, (I know them and their folly,) whose popularity and positions among their fellow-men give them greater influence than ordinarily belongs to slanderers, the common devils\* breathing their pestilential breath upon the communities about me. A word or nod from them is sufficient to blast the character of any powerless and humble individual like myself, however pure and exemplary it may be. These, partly for their friends' sake, I shall spare awhile longer; hoping they will consider on their ways, turn about, and deal justly and mercifully with me.

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\* Διαβόλους, sometimes translated slanderers. See 1 Tim. Chap. iii. ver. 11.

## CHAPTER IV.

## GRAY'S DISCOVERY OF THE OREGON RIVER.

I WILL now proceed to show by whom, and in what ways, the cause of Oregon and of humanity was oppugned; public confidence in my character and writings destroyed; myself abused and made the victim of books; my country deceived and made the victim of intrigue; and how the public concession of Quadra's Island,\* and other northern parts of Oregon to Great Britain were brought about. I do it in vindication of myself.

The Oregon question was long ago settled, and I have no desire it should be discussed anew, or the public mind be agitated so much as by the mention of it; but the false-hearted citizens interfering to deceive the people, and to turn aside from me public justice, remain to be re-proved, and to be posted, as deserving objects of the scorn and indignation of their countrymen.

They were remarkably cunning, and strangely successful, in making the public believe, that "our claim" to Oregon, only extended to the outlines of the Columbia Valley; and rested, only, on "four grounds." They carefully

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\* This island in 1791 and '92, was conveyed by the Indian chiefs to Kendrick, and through Quadra to the king of Spain. For this reason it was called on Gray and Kendrick's charts, and by early American navigators, *Kendrick and Quadra's Island*. It was first discovered by the Spaniards, and before Vancouver was seen on the Pacific side of America, every place on or about that island was examined and named by them, and, also, most of the places by Kendrick and Gray.

It appears to me, that Greenhow, on the 131st page of his book, "On the North-West Coast," does the memory of Quadra injustice. It is very doubtful whether he can furnish better authority than his own for some of his statements in that book. The friends of the Hudson's Bay Company, either to honor British subjects, or to give plausibility to the pretences made by Great Britain to rights in Oregon, changed the names of all important places on that coast, substituting British instead of Spanish and American.

kept out of sight the best of all conceivable grounds, those showing an unquestionable title to the country extending far north of that valley, a stronger claim to the territory north of the forty-ninth parallel, or the line suggested by Wm. Sturgis, Esq., of Boston, for the northern boundary\* of Oregon, than to any part south of that parallel. It was contended that nothing there had been done, on the part of the United States, to acquire a title. Mention was scarcely ever made of acts done by Americans and Spaniards north of the Columbia river.

Too much importance was attached to Capt. Robert Gray's discovery of the Oregon† in 1792, and to John J. Astor's trading establishment at the mouth of that river in 1811; while the truly meritorious acts of Gray, of Kendrick, and of the Spaniards were considered unimportant, and were kept back, as though they did not strengthen the American claim, and were not the very best evidences of our title.

It was inconsistent to ascribe to Capt. Gray the discovery of that river; for it had been previously discovered, and often entered. Capt. John Meares, a British subject on that coast in 1788, admits this. He notes in his journal, — "We were pleased with the expectation of its being *Cape San Roc* of the Spaniards, near which they are said to have found a "*good port*." He again notes, "We can now with safety assert, that no such river as that of *San Roc* exists, as *laid down in the Spanish charts*."

\* This line is crooked, and bends round the southern extremity of Quadra's Island. It was suggested by one of the strongest advocates of the Hudson Bay Company.

† Oregon, the Indian name of this river, was traced by me to a large river called *Orjon*, in Chinese Tartary, whose latitude corresponds with that of *Oregon*, in America. The word *Killamucks*, the name of a tribe, a little south of the mouth of the Oregon, was, also, traced to a people called *Kilmucks*, who anciently lived near the mouth of the Orjon in Asia. It is evident the Oregon Kilmucks were among the early settlers of North America, and brought with them many of the proper names used by our Indians. The word Mexico (*Mecaco*) is identified with the name of the ancient capital of Japan. Identifications of both proper and common names are numerous.

Capt. Gray, as has been said of him by others, was an eagle-eyed navigator, and unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries. He entered the river in 1792, and there are circumstances which incline me to believe, that Maurelle's chart turned him thither. However, he did his country a good service. The publicity given to the event, excited the attention of our government, awakened a spirit of enterprise among the merchants, and produced great and beneficial results.

The fact is well established of there having been a "*good port*" in its estuary, belonging to the Spaniards, and of their frequent visits to the same.

The Viceroyalty of Mexico, in 1775, fitted out from San Blas an expedition consisting of two vessels; Bruno Heceta being commander of one, and *Antonio Maurelle*, pilot, of the other, for the purpose of examining the coast; and, it is believed, to determine on some good position for the establishment of a colony. On the 16th of August, (St. Roc's day,) the Spaniards entered the Oregon, calling it *St. Roc*; and Maurelle laid it down on his chart—the distance of twenty or thirty miles; probably, as much as had been examined. From that to the year '82, Spanish vessels often ploughed through the foaming surf to the "good port," but after the last mentioned year, on account of the difficulties of ingress, and of the frequent disasters occurring there, turned from it.

Mr. E. R. Butler, at the Sandwich Islands, in 1835, informed me of several Spanish shipwrecks at the mouth of that river. He went there in 1808, in the ship *Mercury*, Capt. G. W. Ayres, and lived with the Cheenook tribe nearly two years. He was convinced, that in the year 1782, a Spanish vessel from Manilla, with a cargo of bees-wax, dollars, &c., was wrecked at the entrance of the river. He, himself, dug from the beach a quantity of both the wax and dollars. The age of the Indian with "sandy hair and light complexion," of whom Lewis and Clarke made mention, enabled him to determine upon the exact time of the disaster. He learnt of two other Spanish shipwrecks which had occurred two or three years previous.

Other facts indicate that the first inhabitants of the North West Coast came from Asia, the coast of Japan, and the Islands in the Chinese Sea. The *pottery* of the Mexican and Californian Indians was formerly like that of the Egyptians, Arabians, &c. Their leathern bottles or bags resembled those used in Arabia, and among several of the nations of Asia. The Sacquas tribe of California unquestionably descended from the Saques, anciently of Turkey. They were a religious sect, and travelled into Arabia and the Indies, and even into Tartary, carrying water in leathern bags. When in Lower California, I saw females spinning thread by means of a *top*, after the ancient manner of the Chinese. But this is not the place for a history of the American aborigines. I have written somewhat upon this subject, and much concerning the history of Oregon; but all I have published has attracted no public attention. I will now in further remarks, relative to the river Oregon, suggest one of the reasons of my ill success.

A writer of some distinction in the public journals, and an author of a book of notoriety, both particular friends of the Hudson's Bay Company, have given to the public their opinions concerning the word Oregon; stating immediately after what I had written, which had come to their notice, that it must be derived from *Origano*, the Spanish word for sweet marjoram, which they ignorantly supposed grew on the banks of the Columbia; and, the interesting fact concerning the Killamucks, was wholly passed unnoticed by them; as was, also, many other items of history from my Indian researches. It was an attempt to impose upon the public the belief that *information* coming from me, was not reliable; and was intended to weaken the force of my advocacy of the claim of our citizens to Quadra's Island. This disposition with certain influential men to do me wrong, is one of the things that drives me to undertake the present defence of my character.

## CHAPTER V.

## ASTOR'S TRADING ESTABLISHMENT IN OREGON.

THE late John J. Astor, of New York, a man of no ordinary sagacity in business transactions, organized the Pacific Fur Company, in 1810, for the purpose of carrying on the Fur trade in Oregon. With this sole object in view, he established a trading post on the south side of the estuary of the Columbia, which post, to magnify the importance of his doings in that territory, has since been called the "Town of Astoria." \* No town bearing this name ever existed in Oregon, save in romance, until after the commencement of my settlements; unless two or three *log huts*, with a stockade fence about them, constitute a *town*. I am free to say, having had opportunities to know about it, that he did not so much as contemplate a permanent settlement or occupancy of the country. Nothing ever indicated his having entertained, for a moment, a thought of that kind. It is true, in 1822, he proposed to invest \$200,000 in the building of a town at the mouth of the Columbia, provided the government of the United States would establish for his

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\* The magnificence of Astoria, at any period of its prosperity, was not unlike that of an equal number of log cabins which settlers in a new country build for their temporary convenience. The place, in the latter part of 1813, was sold to the British North West Company, when it took the name of Fort George. In a valuation of the property, at that time, all the buildings were estimated at £200. This Company soon after united with the Hudson Bay Company, who continued to occupy till 1824, when the place was vacated, and the Indians burnt the buildings, so that no vestige of Astoria or Fort George was left. Two buildings, soon after, were put up for the accommodation of a trader, stationed there for the purpose of collecting furs, for which the Indians received in exchange, occasionally, a blanket; but generally, articles for hunting, and *ardent spirit*. The latter was plentifully supplied by the trader from the distillery at Vancouver. In 1834, these two buildings were standing, and this horrid traffic was carried on.

protection a military post at that place. The proposition, though reasonable, was not accepted; and nothing further was said or done on his part. It is not my meaning that he was a whit worse than the very best of the leading men in the associations of fur dealers; yet I apprehend, his object was not materially unlike that of all others whom cupidity has led to that country to trap and hunt, and to trade with the Indians; and who, to get gain, have overreached that benighted people in every instance of traffic with them; and have robbed them of the productions of their hunting grounds, and fishing privileges — a predatory object, no better than that of marauders.

Most historical writers, and lecturers on that country, have given to this enterprising and adroit fur dealer, credit which he never claimed; have attributed to his conduct motives which never moved him; and laurelled him without his consent, at the expense of another. They have made prevalent false notions as to the character of his establishment; and have artfully drawn public attention that way, hoping to *divert* the inquiring mind from the *best grounds* of the American claim to Oregon; and from the first cause of the settlements of that country. Though his object was, exclusively, that of avarice, yet meeds of praise have been awarded him, as though he had done some mighty thing, greatly benefitting his adopted nation.

There was nothing visible in Astor's purpose, indicating colonization. His men were unprovided with agricultural stores or farming implements; and it is evident that they were without skill for the cultivation of the ground, and were not sent to Oregon on business of that kind. While there, they made experiments at horticulture — none at farming.

In 1828, when engaged in efforts to enlist emigrants for Oregon, I noticed in the leading newspapers an article purporting to be an extract from a journal kept at Astoria. It stated, in substance, that a small patch of ground was cultivated, to supply the post with garden



vegetables ; that the ground was *sterile*, and incapable of producing enough of any thing to remunerate for the seed put into it ; and that the experiments were *failures*. The same article suggested the way of management. Turnips were sowed and potatoes planted, among stumps and under the shade of the tall trees which environed their plantation. "The mice, the first year, took one part of the yield ; the other part was reserved for another trial." "The second year the seed entirely ran out."

That article shows, how early the lying spirit of the friends of the Hudson Bay Company was going about to deceive the public, and to thwart the movements of my enterprise. I have seen the spot of ground, and know it to be highly *fertile*, and well adapted to the culture of all the useful vegetables raised in any part of the United States north of the 38th parallel.

There was nothing particularly meritorious in Astor's trading on the *banks* of the Columbia. The character of any trade, gain being the only object, is the same, whether pursued on *land* or *water*. To trade on the *bank* of a river, is much the same as to trade on the *deck* of a vessel. I have, somewhere, seen the principle illustrated by a comparison between two oyster establishments — one was in the heart of a city ; the other, in a hulk moored alongside of a wharf. The query was, which of the twain, from the circumstance of situation, was the most praiseworthy establishment.

Astor bought no territory, made no treaty, and obtained no consent of the Indians to occupy. His men were unkind and unmerciful towards that despised and oppressed race. Finally, his acts in Oregon were not of a character to give strength to the *American claim* to the territory. They were all morally wrong ; in violation of the laws of God — contrary to the precepts of that religion given to the world by Jesus Christ, requiring perfect obedience to the divine commands — requiring all men, of whatever tongue, or tribe, or nation they may be, to live in brotherly kindness with each other — each, to communicate good, and not evil, to his neighbor ; and, the

stronger, whether an individual person or a nation, to protect the weaker; the civilized to enlighten the uncivilized — imparting to all, as circumstances favor, that knowledge of the ways of God, which, more than all other knowledge, dignifies, adorns, and sweetens life.

The transactions of the fur dealers, in Oregon, up to the time of the first settlement in the Wallamet Valley, uniformly tended to demoralize, degrade, and make miserable the Indians, and to the extinguishment of that race. They were hostile to the common interests of mankind. The trappers and hunters beyond the Rocky Mountains, with a few exceptions, have evinced a great want of that elevation of character, which, in part, distinguishes the human from the brute species; and they have deserved to be driven from the Oregon Territory with the same speed with which they have driven nine-tenths of its unoffending population from the world. Such brutish men are not identified with the heaven-adopted instrumentalities by which the "desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose;" and "the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord."

Their history is full of unfair dealings, and unprovoked murders. I cannot be silent, when I call to mind the wrongs and outrages practised by them, upon their fellow-men. Should my pen ever gain sufficient ability for the task, history shall not belie the oppressed people driven out from that goodly land.

## CHAPTER VI.

## GROUNDS OF THE AMERICAN CLAIM TO OREGON OVERLOOKED.

SINCERELY do I regret to recount events in the history of Oregon, which once so much disturbed the public mind, but are now put away, to be thought of and to trouble no more. I repeat it—the defence of my character and rights, and also, the vindication of the rights of countrymen claiming protection of the government in regaining their property on Quadra's Island, require me to do it.

The re-discovery of the Oregon, and Astor's trading establishment at that river, have been sufficiently considered; and now, as to the acts of the Spaniards in that quarter.

The Spaniards, before any other civilized people, discovered and examined every part of the northwest coast; and commenced the colonization of Quadra's Island. Francisco Gualle, in 1584, Lorenzo Ferrez de Maldonado, in 1588, made discoveries. Juan de Fuca, pilot of the vessel in which he sailed, entered the straits bearing his name. Sebastian Vizcaino, in 1602, Admiral Fonte, in 1640, made discoveries and examinations as far north as the 60th parallel, entering rivers, straits, and bays; and taking possession of the country in the name of their sovereign. In 1774, Juan Perez was sent from San Blas with two public vessels to explore the whole coast, in view of its annexation to the Spanish dominions. He examined *Nootka Sound*, which he called San Lorenzo; and entered the Straits of Fuca; and traded with the natives, paying them in exchange for furs, as is inferrible from accounts of subsequent English and American voyagers, clothing, iron, articles of silver, brass, &c. In the following year, Heceta, from San Blas, made the expedition in which was discovered the Oregon River.

Owing partly, perhaps, to the wars between Spain and

France, and the United States and Great Britain, but few voyages from 1775 to 1788 were made far up the coast; and those few, to prevent competition in trade, were carefully concealed from other nations. There were, however, voyages in those years, particularly to the Oregon River; as is evident from the shipwrecks, spoken of by Butler, as having occurred at the entrance of that river,—the last, in 1782. After those terrible disasters, in which were lost vessels and crews, the Spaniards may have become discouraged, and resolved never again to risk property, or to peril life, at that seemingly forbidden spot of Neptune's dominions.

In 1788, learning that the Russians were preparing to form settlements on the coast, south of their establishment at Zodiak near the 60th parallel, the Viceroy of Mexico dispatched Estevan Jose Martinez with two public vessels to inquire into their movements, and to prevent the threatened encroachment upon Spanish rights. Martinez, immediately after his return, was ordered to proceed with the same vessels to *Nootka Sound*; and, there, to take *possession* of the country in the name of his Catholic Majesty, and to commence *occupancy*. He sails amply provided with men, cattle, agricultural stores, &c. &c., and was accompanied with three Missionaries,\* who were

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\* Those Franciscan padres were doubtless sincere men; and hoped to improve the character and condition of the Indians; but I am not one to believe that any good was ever accomplished, in behalf of civilization, by papal missionaries. In my apprehension, they are not the best qualified of Gospel heralds to lead in the high and dignified work of civilizing savage men. It would seem, their faith is too weak and too defective; and they are altogether too antichristian for that holy calling. Being so, and standing in the relation they do to Jesus Christ, they can understand but little of that system of morality, so perfect, and so transcendently excellent, given to the world, by the compassionate Redeemer, for the happiness and glory of mankind.

It was a dark period in the history of Spain and Mexico, when those missionaries accompanied Martinez to the northwest coast. They knew nothing, as they ought, of the nature and power of Christianity, then soon mightily to exert its energies among heathen people—to commence a more rapid march to improve and beautify the moral world.

Indians are Indians still, while their teachers and examplers are in

to lead in the *civilization of the Indians*. He arrives at the place of destination, on the 6th of May, 1789, and *laid the foundation of a colony*.

I shall defer for some other chapter the account of the settlement, at that time commenced ; and will close this, by giving some of the evidences of early Spanish voyages.

British and other navigators furnish much concerning them. It is said in Drake's voyage, in 1579, that there was taken from a Spanish ship a *set of charts*, and a *pilot*, which were of great service in a cruise up the coast. Maldonado, in 1588, remarks, in reference to passages among the islands between latitudes 54 and 56 N. — "being guided by a good *narrative of Juan Martinez, pilot mayor*, a very old *man of much experience*."

Juan de Fuca represents himself as having been *pilot*, and not chief officer in the voyage in which the straits of his name were discovered ; and, also, "*previously, a pilot of three vessels*, sent from *Mexico* armed with 100 men to discover the *Straits of Anian*." Fuca was one of the unfortunate crew of the ship *Santa Anna*, which Cavendish, in 1587, burnt, after plundering it of a cargo worth half a million of dollars. That *pilot* was in the marine service of Spain forty years.

darkness, and perceive not the things of Christ's kingdom, and are ignorant of human rights — obey not the precepts of the Gospel ; and honor and worship the earthly mother, more than the heavenly Father of the Lord Jesus.

Sixty years ago, there was a better excuse for the ignorance of Spaniards, in both earthly and spiritual things, than now. Then, the light of heaven did but dimly shine ; and the government of Christ, and the fundamental principles of civil and religious freedom, were less understood and appreciated. Then, knowledge had made but slow advance in Spanish America, and in the papal and infidel parts of the world. The light, now coming with such bright radiance from heaven to earth, had then scarcely begun to shine upon the moral desolation, continuing to spread with its darkest aspect over those nations, pretending, more than others, to civilization ; and to a knowledge of the Creator, and of temporal and eternal things.

I shall indulge in further remarks relative to the interesting and heart-felt subject of Christianity, under the head of Reflections, subjoined to Chap. VIII.

Martinez was *pilot* in 1774 ; and Maurelle *pilot* in 1775 ; both to high latitudes. The very fact of a person's being pilot, supposes his having been on the coast previous to the time mentioned of acting in this capacity. The three shipwrecks, at the entrance of the Columbia River, were *Spanish public vessels*, known to be such from the identity of the costume of the officers, and the articles of the cargoes. Capt. Dixon, in 1787, near the 56th degree of latitude, notes in his journal, that "An old Indian gave them to understand, that a good while ago, two vessels had been at anchor at that place ; and that they carried a great number of guns. The old man showed a white shirt, which was found to be made after the *Spanish fashion*. An Indian chief was noticed to have on a scarlet cloak, with old fringe about the shoulders." Dixon supposed "this and some other showy articles, once belonged to some *Spanish Don*."

Capt. Portlock, associated with Dixon, expresses his disappointment while searching after the island of St. Maria la Costa, laid down "on old *Spanish charts*" then before him. Capt. Cook, in 1788, found the natives about Nootka Sound well acquainted with the use of iron ; and ascribes their great dexterity in works of wood, to the assistance they received from iron tools. He speaks of iron, and ornaments of brass—"noticed two silver spoons hanging from the neck of an Indian chief," which he thought were from *Mexico*.

These are the *voyages* and *evidences* of voyages, by *Spaniards*, to the shores of Oregon. They were all national, made with a view to discoveries, and explorations, and to preparations for colonizing that country.

## CHAPTER VII.

BRITISH VOYAGES — ACTS OF CAPTAIN MEARES ON THE COAST —  
 “NOOTKA SOUND DIFFICULTY” — PRETENDED LAND PURCHASE.

CAPT. COOK, early in the year 1778, touched at Nootka ; where, having traded with the Indians, and made some repairs of his vessel, departed. This was the first voyage to the coast of Oregon, by a British subject ; and in this, there were neither discoveries nor explorations, south of the 60th degree north latitude.

Between the years 1787 and 1789, captains Duncan, Dixon, Portlock, Meares, and some others, made voyages. Most of them were from the East Indies, in the East India Company's vessels ; or, from Macao, under *Portuguese* colors — all for the sole purpose of collecting furs.

The only British voyages worthy of consideration, in this book, were those made by a *Portuguese* company, at Macao, in which John Meares, a lieutenant in the British navy, on half pay, was concerned. As these afforded the British nation a pretext, though an unreasonable one, for a *difficulty* with Spain, they deserve particular notice.

The Portuguese company, composed of Cavallo and others, fitted out two expeditions to the coast. I shall detail, somewhat minutely, the circumstances of each, in order the more clearly to explain the Nootka Sound difficulty, so called, which resulted in what is also called, the Nootka Convention ; and to show how destitute of importance or interest to Great Britain were any of the voyages made by her subjects ; and how groundless was her claim to any part of the territory of Oregon.

Both expeditions were from Macao, a Portuguese port ; and by a Portuguese company. The vessels of both had Portuguese captains, and Portuguese and Chinese crews ; and had papers, only, in the Portuguese language ; and sailed under the flag of Portugal ; so that there was

nothing English about them, save the persons of lieutenants J. Meares and J. Colnett, the commanders. In the first, were employed the two vessels, Felice and Iphigenia, which sailed early in 1788. Meares, appointed to the command, arrived in the Felice, at Nootka, in May, where, having obtained of Maquinna, the chief, the *use of a few square yards of ground*, in friendly love, he erected a temporary building or hut, and put up a vessel of forty tons. The building or shanty (the latter a modern and better name) was for the safety of stores and the shelter of workmen. Having made these arrangements, he sailed on a cruise southward; and traded with the Indians in Clioquot Bay, and on each side of the entrance of De Fuca's straits; but did not enter that sea. He proceeded southward as far as the river San Roc, (on Maurelle's chart before him,) which, also, he did not enter; nor did he care to go into the "good port" of the Spaniards. There were strong indications of some estuary, or bay, or other indentation of the shore, worthy examination; and he was assured of the existence of some large river. But, for some reason known best to himself, perhaps a want of confidence in his own skill as a navigator, he was induced to tack about ship, and leave that fearful and foaming surf, and that wild roar of floods, for the more quiet and *pacific* shores further north. He called the opening, *Deception Bay*; and the high rock, on the northern side, *Cape Disappointment* — names which have been chronicled against him, as though for a perpetual remembrance of his stupidity. The bay neither *deceived*, nor the cape *disappointed*; only the warring elements about them bid, at times, the mariner to advance with care and caution.

He returned to Nootka. The schooner being completed, was called Northwest America, and put to sea. He then sailed direct to Macao, leaving the Iphigenia on the coast.

These were the only personal acts of Meares on the coast of Oregon; and in addition to the evidence already adduced, showing they were performed in the service of



a Portuguese company, his countryman, Portlock, who could have had no possible motive to misrepresent the fact, and who sailed from Macao a short time before Meares, testifies in his journal, that Meares had engaged in a *Portuguese expedition*.

In the other expedition, besides the two vessels on the coast, were two other vessels, the Prince Royal and the Argonaut, which sailed in April, 1789, James Colnett, also a lieutenant in the British navy, on half pay, being appointed to command. While Colnett, in the Argonaut, was on his way to Nootka, the Iphigenia and Northwest America put into that place in distress. Six days afterwards, commodore Martinez arrived with his squadron, and immediately informed the officers of the Portuguese vessels, and of the American ship Columbia, that he had come to take *possession* for the *king of Spain*, and requested to see the papers of each vessel, and to know why they were in Nootka Sound; alleging, that the *country belonged to his Catholic Majesty*. The captain of the Iphigenia answered, "Being in distress, in want of provisions." Americans, present, state that this vessel was a mere wreck; and that the commodore put her in good repair, and furnished every necessary supply; but, soon afterwards seized her on account of her supposed instructions to capture any English, Spanish or Russian vessel met with on the coast. Understanding but imperfectly the Portuguese language, he misconstrued her instructions. The mistake being discovered, she was restored to the captain. On the 31st of May, she sailed to places further up the coast, where, in a short time, she collected a valuable cargo of sea-otter skins.

The Prince Royal arrived on the 16th of June, and left on the 4th of July. On the same day she sailed out of port, the Argonaut entered. In regard to what further happened, captains R. Gray and J. Ingraham state in detail in their reply to Quadra, the Spanish commissioner at Nootka, in August, 1792, requesting information relative to the transactions between the English and Spaniards at that place. Immediately, on the arrival of

the Argonaut, captain Colnett was invited to the cabin of the *Princessa*, the Spanish commodore's ship, where, it appears, without the least observance of the etiquette proper on that occasion, he announced it to be his object, in coming, to take possession of that place. Say they, "Colnett informed the Spanish commandant, that he had come to hoist the British flag, take formal possession; — and was answered, that possession had been taken, already, in the name of his Catholic Majesty. Colnett asked, if he would be prevented from building a house, in the port. The answer was, he could erect a tent, get wood and water, and then would be at liberty to depart. Again, he wanted to know, if he would be permitted to build a block-house, and fort, and settle a colony for the crown of Great Britain. The commandant answered, *No*; to do that, would violate the orders of his king; and, it would be relinquishing the *Spaniard's claim to the coast*; besides, the vessels did not belong to the king of England; nor was he (Colnett) intrusted with powers to transact such public business." Colnett now drew and brandished his sword, and threatened the Spanish officer on board his own ship, in his own castle. The Argonaut was then ordered to be seized.\* The sloop, *Prince Royal*, soon after this event, came into port, the second time, and she, also, was taken into possession.†

In my way of thinking, Commodore Martinez acted in support of the honor and rights of his nation. The vessels had come into a Spanish harbor with intentions to invade. Insults had been offered the Spanish flag; and a bold attempt made to break up the settlement just commenced at Nootka — a manifest violation of the rights of Spain.

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\* J. Howell, R. Gray, and J. Ingraham, were eye witnesses to the seizures. Their statements are among Ingraham's papers in the national archives, at Washington.

† The officers and crews were treated with kindness. The cargoes were given up at the times of the seizures; and the vessels themselves were finally restored: nevertheless, the difficulty nigh involved the two nations in a war; and, it cost Spain over \$1,000,000.

These are all the leading facts relative to the seizures of the Portuguese vessels, which Meares, in a memorial to the British Parliament, said belonged to him. They constituted the whole ground of the difficulty which, in 1790, existed between Spain and great Britain.

Meares may have conceived, or Cavallo and Company may have suggested the idea of seeking, through the British government, indemnity, for the loss of the Portuguese company's property. A memorial was, therefore, prepared and taken to London. It was easily seen to have been a foreign expedition of no interest to the British nation. To give it, then, national importance, some noble lord may have requested Meares—most likely did, to represent to the House of Commons, that, besides the vessels taken from him by the Spaniards, he was dispossessed of *lands* which he, a British subject, had purchased of Indian chiefs.\* This would better meet the policy of his nation; and some considerable advantage might be made to accrue to her. She would have, at least, a plausible pretext for exacting the desired indemnity; and for dictating to Spain the conditions of a treaty which she, doubtless, hoped would vest her with rights of domain on that side of America. Meares, therefore, asserted claims, at London, not thought of at Macao.

The memorial states as follows;—“Your memorialist, immediately on his arrival at Nootka, purchased from Maquinna, the chief, a spot of ground, whereon he built a house for his occasional residence, as well as for the more convenient pursuit of his trade with the natives.”

\* \* \* \* “That during the absence of your memorialist from Nootka Sound, he obtained from Wickaninick, the chief of the district, situate in latitudes 48 and 49 degrees, in consequence of considerable presents, the promise of a free and exclusive trade with the natives of the district.” \* \* \* \* “That he purchased of Tatoоче, the chief of the country bordering on the

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\* See Hist. N. W. Coast, p. 112, by R. Greenhow.

Straits of Juan De Fuca, a tract of land within said Straits."

The memorialist admits, that the Spaniards "built batteries, storehouses,—" and that they declared the country to belong to his Catholic Majesty, and took formal possession of the same; and "performed such ceremonies, as are usual on such occasions."

The journal of Meares' voyage is silent as to the purchase of lands; and there is positive and clear evidence, that he purchased no lands, and obtained no exclusive privileges of trade with the natives—did nothing of that kind on the coast. He, undoubtedly, at the time of putting up the schooner, in Friendly Cove, had a perfect right to purchase lands of those Indians; it being prior to the commencement of the occupancy of the territory by the Spaniards.

The first thing, after Vancouver's arrival at Nootka, in 1792, to act with Quadra in carrying into effect the Nootka treaty, was to ascertain what *lands* and *buildings* belonged to British subjects "in May, 1789." Inquiries were made of Captains Gray and Ingraham, and other Americans, and of Douglass, a Portuguese, the captain of the captured Iphigenia, an acquaintance of Meares; and, also, of the Indians themselves. Their answers were uniformly and distinctly, that *no lands* had ever been purchased by Meares. It is stated by Gray and Ingraham, in their reply to Quadra, that, Maquinna, executed a deed, conveying to the king of Spain, lands, and accompanied the same with a declaration, that he had sold no land to Mr. Meares, or to any other person except Captain John Kendrick. This deed and declaration was witnessed by Mr. Howell and Captain Magee. It is further stated by Gray and Ingraham—"You wish to know what house or establishment Mr. Meares had at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. We answer, in a word, *none*. On the arrival of the Columbia, in the year 1788, there was a house, or rather a hut, consisting of rough posts covered with boards, made by the Indians; but this, Captain Douglass pulled down prior to his sailing

for the Sandwich Islands the same year. The boards he took on the *Iphigenia*, and the roof he gave to Captain Kendrick for firewood, on board the *Columbia*; so that, on the arrival of Don E. J. Martinez, there was no vestige of a house remaining." The commissioners, therefore, finding that no British subject had ever possessed "lands or buildings at or near Nootka," could restore none, as required in the first article of the treaty.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

ATTEMPT OF SPAIN TO COLONIZE THE NORTHERN PART OF OREGON  
— UNREASONABLE INTERFERENCE OF GREAT BRITAIN — THE  
AMERICAN CLAIM NORTH OF THE 49TH PARALLEL.

THE Spaniards, by order of the Viceroyalty of Mexico, in 1789, took possession of the northwest coast with a view to its colonization. Commodore Martinez arrived, as stated on the 27th page, with two war vessels, the *Princessa* and *San Carlos*, having three Missionaries to propagate Christianity among the natives. Immediately on his arrival at Nootka Sound, he laid the foundation of a town, on the western bank of Friendly Cove, which is on the southern side of Kendrick's (Nuchatlet) Island, forming the sound. Dwelling-houses, stores, a church, and other edifices were erected; and a fort was built on Uquatle Island, a short distance easterly of the town. Farmers, mechanics, and the padres were active at their respective callings; and much was done, in a little time, to prepare for bringing that portion of Oregon under such improvements, physical and moral, as that people were, then, capable of making.

The affairs of the colony went on prosperously for eight months; when, Martinez received orders to gather up its elements, and return to Mexico. This movement

was owing to the difficulty which had grown out of the seizure of the Portuguese vessels.

In the spring of 1790, Don Francisco Elisa, with more vessels, a greater number of settlers, and an increased amount of effects, resumed the settlements. The village, in Friendly Cove, was extended; and the people were again busily employed in farming, mechanical and trading industry. Another settlement was now commenced; that at Nittenat, in the entrance of De Fuca's Straits. Capt. Ingraham, in his journal, July 30, 1792, speaks concerning them — "I accompanied Capt. Haro (Spanish officer) to view the place which was recently a wilderness; but, now, a garden. The village consists of sixteen dwelling-houses, several store-houses, a bake-house, a hospital, &c. I saw cattle, sheep, hogs, &c. Haro informed me, they had three frigates and two schooners. The day before our arrival, a frigate of forty guns sailed for San Blas, taking away a part of the men and stock of the settlements. One of the frigates was stationed at the settlement, in the straits; and another, with the two schooners, was employed in making examinations of the coast. He remarked, they expected shortly to evacuate the country."

The "Nootka difficulty," at this date, having assumed a threatening aspect, discouraged the Spaniards in their enterprise, and they began to think of giving it up.

The colony had been planted in a fruitful soil; and, for a while, it was thrifty; but, all at once, it began to decay, and to appear, as under the withering effects of violence. It continued, however, gradually declining, until March, 1795, when it was found dead, root and branch.

Early in the spring of 1792, Juan Francisco de la Bodega Y. Quadra was sent to Nootka to succeed Elisa in the government of the colony; and, at the same time, to act with the British commissioner, Vancouver, under the convention providing for the settlement of the troubles which the false statements, in Meares' memorial, had caused between the British and Spanish courts. He

left in the fall of the same year; and was succeeded by Salvador Fidalgo, who commanded one of the ships of the squadron which arrived in the spring of 1790. Quadra, before his departure, received for his *king*, as stated in a former chapter, a *conveyance by deed* of a part of Maquinna's *territory*; in which deed, was a *declaration* that no *lands* had been sold to any person excepting to *Capt. John Kendrick*, who was *acknowledged* to be *proprietor of lands* about Nootka. The deed and declaration were witnessed by Capt. Magee and Mr. Howell. (See Ingraham's papers, in the national archives.)

The commandant, Fidalgo, continued until the beginning of 1794, when the settlements were placed under the care of Colonel Alava.

The king of Spain, finally, determined to discontinue those attempts to colonize, which the cupidity of the government and subjects of Great Britain had rendered so difficult. The Spaniards, therefore, obedient to the royal command, in March, 1795, collected their effects and forces, and departed from that portion of the Spanish domain.

Concerning the settlement at Nootka, the late John R. Jewett, who left that place, in 1803, after being three years in captivity among those Indians, says, in his narrative — "The foundations of the church and the governor's house are still to be seen; and the European plants continue to be self-propagated."

The commissioners, Quadra and Vancouver, found no *lands* or buildings which had ever been *possessed by British subjects*, to be restored; but they found *lands*, extensive tracts of lands which had been *purchased by Kendrick*; and a tract, perhaps, the balance of Maquinna's territory, which had been *granted* to the King of Spain. No part "of the coast, or its adjacent islands," were surrendered to Great Britain; because, none belonged to that nation. Nothing was restored; and, nothing was surrendered. They agreed to report to their respective governments, and await further orders.

Subsequent to Vancouver's report, Mr. Fox, in Parlia-

ment, remarked that the British government had acquired nothing under the treaty; and Mr. Belsham, an eminent historian, noted, that the Spanish flag at Nootka was never struck; and the territory was virtually relinquished by Great Britain.

I will here remark, though it may not be exactly in place, that the title of Spain to Oregon, — perfect as imaginable, in my way of thinking, — was quitclaimed, in 1819, to the United States; and that Spain, up to that year, regarded the whole coast from her Californias to the 60th north parallel, as belonging to herself. So did Great Britain regard it, as belonging to Spain. She did not so much as entertain a question upon the subject, until after the Hudson Bay Company planned to perpetuate its monopolies in that country; and to fasten its hold on Quadra's Island.

Mr. Burke, an English historian of some repute, in his account, in 1761, of the European settlements in America, says, — "The Spaniards, as they first discovered the continent, have the largest and richest share on it. They have all that part which comprises the Isthmus of Mexico, and what is beyond that towards the river Mississippi on the east, and the Pacific on the *west* and *northwest*." On a map attached to his work, and "drawn from the best modern maps and charts by Ernon Bowen, geographer to his Majesty," are laid down the Spanish possessions. North of the 44th north parallel is written "ports undiscovered." The British, then, claimed no territory south of this parallel; and, had made no discoveries, and knew nothing north of it.

Thus, I have given accounts of the voyages, discoveries, and explorations on the coast of Oregon by the Spaniards. They made minute examinations of every part of it; and there was not left, in 1792, a river or island, or point or indentation or place of the least importance on those shores for Vancouver or any of his nation first to discover or examine. I have shown, satisfactorily to myself, if not to others, that prior to the year just named, Britons had made no discoveries, and have done nothing by national



authority. They were unable to find rivers, straits and inlets, which were distinctly laid down on charts before them; and, which had often been visited by the Spaniards.

The acts performed by Americans and Spaniards north of the 49th parallel have been described. They were of greater national importance than those performed by Americans, south of that parallel. The Spanish settlements on Quadra's Island, commenced in 1789, and continued to 1795, were not mere trading establishments like that at the mouth of the Columbia river, by Astor; but, they were settlements made with a view to the permanent occupancy and the colonization of the country, and to the highest good of the Indian race.

All "the material facts" relative to the American claim to Oregon north of the 49th parallel have been given, chiefly to show those better grounds of "our claim," which the Boston merchant in his lecture "on Oregon" before the Mercantile Library Association, *neglected* to describe; and perhaps, I ought to say, endeavored, and studiously sought to conceal; but, partly, as I have said, once or twice before this, to vindicate myself, — seeing others will not do it for me.

I will now attempt to explain the nature of the conveyances by the Indian chiefs, in the north of Oregon, of large portions of their territory to the king of Spain and to the American citizen, Kendrick.

The Indians, by the conveyance to Spain, made choice of that nation to be their *friend* and *guardian*. Its effect was to consummate her claim to sovereignty. Although some might doubt, as to the nature and extent of her explorations and settlements, it placed the question of title beyond all ground of controversy.

In all my inquiries, I have not yet discovered the least claim possessed by Great Britain, previous to 1846, to any part of the northwest coast. Previous to the occurrences, at Nootka, concerning the Portuguese vessels, she pretended to none; and had, more than once, in her transactions with Spain, admitted the fact of having none.

After those occurrences, it is believed, she thought to get up something through the "said Meares," on which to ground some claim, but wholly failed to accomplish the object. The Spanish claim to Oregon was not weakened by the Nootka treaty. There was, as I conceive, no call for that treaty — no occasion for the national misunderstanding which it settled. Spain acknowledged in it, no rights as belonging to Great Britain; nor surrendered rights of her own; but, she was threatened with the horrors of a war; and yielded to the dictations of England, as a weak man sometimes yields to the unreasonable dictations of a strong one.

I will cite from history an instance showing public opinion as to the national advantage to be derived from a *grant* of Indian territory, such as was made to Spain by the Indians of Quadra's Island; or from purchases, such as were made by Kendrick. The East India Company obtained from Indian princes certain grants of land. A question being raised as to the company's right to hold, a petition was presented to the king, which was referred to the attorney and solicitor-general, which report laid down the following principles: — "In respect to such places as have been acquired by *purchase* or *grant*, your Majesty's letters patent are not necessary. The *property of the soil* is vested in the *company* subject only to your Majesty's right of sovereignty."\*

English history furnishes other precedents recognising the national right, which, under some circumstances, is acquired by purchases or grants of Indian lands. Captain Kendrick, in his letter to Mr. Jefferson, in 1793, supposed that his purchases vested the United States with a right to sovereignty; and so undoubtedly it would, had not Spain, by her public acts, already acquired that right.

The validity of the Kendrick purchases, was explicitly admitted in the Nootka treaty; the first article of which reads as follows: — "The buildings and tracts of land, at and near Nootka, of which the *subjects* of his Britannic

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\* Bolt's History, App. Vol. I.

Majesty were dispossessed by Spanish officers, shall be *restored* to the said British subjects."

The lands which the British subject Meares pretended to possess, were portions of the identical lands purchased by Kendrick. If, then, Meares had a right to purchase, Kendrick had a right: and a better one too; because, he and other Americans had made discoveries and explorations on that coast; and had taken possession of the purchased territory in the name of their country; and had built forts on the same; and had kept up for years, a friendly trading intercourse with the natives.

The first article of that treaty, also, clearly recognises the principle of right in individuals to purchase in their own name, lands of independent Indian tribes.

Finally, without fear of contradiction I say it, the Kendrick purchases were more available in strengthening our country's claims to Oregon, than any other acts performed by our citizens in that territory.

The principal facts concerning those purchases have been collected by me, and were intended to constitute the 9th and 10th chapters of this book; but they are here omitted, for the reason, a committee in the Senate of the United States, I am told, have prepared a report upon that long deferred claim; and will soon, I am also told, furnish the public with a full history of it,—undoubtedly more complete and lucid than is possible for my feeble pen to do. I am glad the petitioners, at length, have so fair a prospect of coming into possession of their rich paternal inheritance; for, while some of them are widows and orphans, others are active and useful men, deservedly classed among the most worthy of our citizens.

## CHAPTER IX.

PUBLIC MEN DECEIVED CONCERNING THE AMERICAN CLAIMS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, TO OREGON ; — THE CHIEF PIONEER IN EFFECTING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE POSSESSIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, IN THE FAR WEST, PERSECUTED.

ON the preceding pages are given, in detail, the leading facts within my knowledge, relative to the nature of our claims to the north-eastern shores of the Pacific ; and are described in my broken and plain-spoken way, without poetry or imagery or rhetorical flourish, the adroit acts of Spaniards and Americans, on and about Quadra's Island. It now becomes my painful duty to describe the artful and treacherous acts of Englishmen and of my own countrymen, performed on the Atlantic, as well as the Pacific shores. The first acts consummated the American claims. The last concealed their best evidences from the public view.

The treaty-making power being deceived, acted with too little understanding in settling, in 1846, with Great Britain, the question of title to that territory. The illustrious members composing both branches of the national assembly, doubtless, sought to promote the interests of the people ; but they reposed too much confidence in the individuals, public and private, who volunteered to lead in the investigations.

I hope it is no hazard thus freely to express my sentiments. They are the honest sentiments of a free-hearted and oppressed son of American freedom. Though it should cost me the last remaining comforts of life, I shall express them. Risk what it may, I shall brave it. I must bear it. Resolved to be true to conscience and to the cause of humanity, while God spares me, I shall continue in my place — shall fight manfully, wherever divinely directed — be it where it may — be it “in the fore-front of the hottest battle.”

The late John Q Adams, once remarked, in a debate, that he was ignorant upon the subject; and relied for information on those who were giving particular attention to the question. So Senator Benton, if recollection serves me correctly, (I have a voucher, though not at hand,) virtually said in some appropriate remarks concerning the treachery of the author of the book which had been specially prepared for the Senate, that Congress was deceived by him on whom reliance had been made for correct information. A zealous and ever-busy advocate of the Hudson Bay Company, a private citizen, says, in a certain lecture, printed in Boston, and widely diffused over the country, in substance, the same thing; that many in Congress were ignorant of the real merits of the question.

Among my notes is an extract appearing to be taken from that lecture. I will venture to give it as being correct; — "I have thus," said the lecturer, "endeavored to give you the material facts, in relation to our claim to territory west of the Rocky Mountains, and to the present state of the dispute with Great Britain, in relation to it. There is, evidently, a lamentable ignorance upon the subject, both among those who call loudly for action, and those whose position gives them the power to act; and it seems to me, that many, both in and out of Congress, who are most clamorous for taking immediate possession of the whole territory of Oregon, know little, if any thing, of the real merits of the question." The *whole* territory. He would not, by any means, have the company dispossessed of Quadra's Island.

How artful! How thick the moral darkness covering the plans and purposes of the company! How entirely concealed by that lecturer were the *best* grounds of "our claim" to Oregon!

From a personal acquaintance with the lecturer, I am persuaded he was not of those who know but "little." It appeared to me, he knew much of the "merits of the question;" and was exceedingly anxious to keep out of sight all the "material facts." He was the leading op-

poser of the colonization of Oregon ; and, to difficulties thrown in my path by him, were chiefly to be attributed the delays in the accomplishment of that great undertaking. He has done much ; and, perhaps, is still doing what he can to perpetuate the hold of the company upon the territory north of the line, (unreasonably crooked,) suggested by him, as being proper for the northern limit of "our claim."

The public were told, and made to believe, that there were "four grounds" sustaining the claim ; and, that they were all south, and none, north of the 49th parallel. One of them, Astor's doings on the banks of the Columbia, really weakened the claim. The very naming of them, as grounds, was an imposition upon the wisdom of Congress. Nothing was said in the lecture concerning the attempts of Spain, to colonize north of the 49th parallel ; and nothing concerning the land conveyances to his Catholic Majesty, and to American citizens, things which gave title, if any transactions between those civilized and savage men, could do it.

Furthermore, that lecturer, the earliest and ablest advocate of the company, that fluent talker, talked much, before and after my visit to Oregon, talked unreasonably about that country, the enterprise, and the benefits which I had predicted would accrue to mankind.

I will now notice other men, whose mouths, for many years, have been full of evil-speaking ; and hearts, of deceit and intrigue. If I can prevent it, those friends of the company, and servants of the devil, shall no longer deceive public men ; nor persecute him whom they have made to suffer most terrible evils for the country's sake.

With the worst of objects in view, scores of lying tongues and pens have been employed during the last twenty years, to circulate falsehoods among my friends and acquaintance ; and in the ears of public men. At first, much was said about the "cold and barren" country beyond the Rocky Mountains, and of difficulties in going to it — about savage Indians and disasters happen-

ing to hunters. Misrepresentations of this kind were frequent, particularly in those parts where emigration was likely to set the strongest. After this manner, the colonization of Oregon was retarded until after the officers and servants of the Hudson Bay Company had selected the best tracts of land, and the best farming positions; and Quadra's Island had been conceded, in the treaty of 1846, to Great Britain. After those events, the settlements were left to increase and prosper; but myself to be made the subject of horrible persecution.

Great injustice has been done me, and is doing me in misrepresentations, by multitudes of interested individuals, and in the reports of certain public officers, and in books giving historical accounts of Oregon. These men and authors, duty requires me to notice with severe, though just animadversions; because, they have deceived and treacherously treated the government of the United States, and disregarded the interests of the people; and because, they have seized the opportunity afforded by the misfortunes brought upon me, partly, through means of their own, to bind, hand and foot, and send me into exile, and to blot out my name from the catalogue of the faithful. Their revenge thirsted for blood, therefore, have they continued with hounds and bull-dogs to follow close after the faint and wearied victim of their cruelty.

The men whose conduct first deserve censure from my pen, are the late Jason Lee, and the living Daniel Lee, the first missionaries whom the New England conference of the Methodist Episcopal church ordained and sent to the Indians in Oregon. They arrived in that territory in 1834, a few days previous to myself. Their mission was the first west of the Rocky Mountains. That it was founded through my instrumentality, will be seen by the affidavit of William C. Brown, Esq., who, for many years, was the editor of *Zion's Herald*, the leading paper of the Methodist community in New England. He testifies as follows:—"I published for Mr. Kelley a series of letters, addressed to a member of Congress, developing fully his plans for settling the Oregon territory, and also the true

principles and objects of colonization, as he understands them.

"At other times, Mr. Kelley made philanthropic appeals to the public, through the medium of our paper, chiefly, with the view to excite the minds of the Christian community to the importance of founding religious institutions in that territory.

"Perhaps to his zeal and persevering efforts, is the religious community chiefly indebted for their missionary establishments in that country."

I had a personal acquaintance with Jason Lee, the uncle of Daniel, and had particularly a knowledge of the plans and operations of both, during the short period of their acting the part of ambassadors of Christ. Experience and observation, and what I have read in the book of nature, concerning them, qualify me to judge as to the consistency of their course of conduct, while missionaries. Mr. Robinson and his church declared, that, one of the reasons of their coming to America, was, the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom; but, there was nothing discoverable, in the disposition and strange conduct of the Lees, indicating this to be one of the inducements which led them to that distant field of missionary enterprise.

To learn the particular circumstances of their mission, see *History of the Colonization of the Oregon Territory*, under the head of *Origin of the Colonizing Settlements*.

Those men, like numerous others of the friends of the Hudson Bay Company, have mocked me. In all they have said and written, relative to Oregon, they have injured me. While it casts no reproach upon Christianity, it argues a high degree of individual depravity, that, a professed disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ persecutes an unoffending fellow-mortal, one striving hard to be eminently instrumental in doing good to his sinful race.

The following is found in the report of Lieutenant Howison, a government agent:—

"The American missionaries commenced the settlement of Oregon." The persons here meant are the missionaries of whom I am speaking. Now I know they did nothing



to commence, or even to encourage that settlement; but did something to retard emigration to that territory. Jason Lee obligated himself to the Hudson Bay Company so to do. When I was at Vancouver, on the Columbia, he often clandestinely left the fort, and came into my cabin, and conversed freely about his plans and intentions. He once said, he was preparing for a great farming establishment, where, to produce supplies for other stations; and also said, he was *opposed to persons coming to settle* in that territory, excepting such as would belong to the missionary family, and aid in missionary enterprise; and, he should do nothing contrary to the wishes of Dr. McLaughlin, who had agreed to loan him \$1500. About the time of his making these remarks, he received, in my presence, a part of the loan from the Company's store houses.

The "American missionaries" were thus bought to co-operate in opposing the incipient movements towards the colonization of Oregon. Neither of them were ever known to speak respectfully of me. While on a visit to the States, Jason Lee was asked, at his boarding-house in the city of New York, if Kelley had not something to do in settling Oregon; he, then, replied, as afterwards, in other places: that "a man by the name of Kelley came there, without *mind* or *means* to do any thing; and went away." How ungrateful! His being, himself, in that delightful country, where so many things could contribute to his comfort and happiness, was all due the Kelley whom he abused. It was as though I had taken him by the hand and conducted him thither, all the way from New England. He knew me to be encompassed by implacable and determined enemies both in that and this country. It was, therefore, unkind. It was cruel. It had, somewhat, the appearance of sinning against God with a high hand and a loud voice.

Jason Lee is dead. He was cut down in the vigor of manhood—in the midst of his days. I would not utter a harsh word in reference to his memory; but the living force me to do it. Deeply do I regret the circumstances

which drive me, in this instance, to the vindication of my bleeding character. Faith and repentance, I trust, have fixed his abode, eternally among the glorified and rejoicing spirits in the shining fields of heaven.

Daniel Lee has written a book entitled "Ten Years in Oregon," which serves well the purposes and interests of the Hudson Bay Company; and deceives those who read its pages. Like many other books concerning that territory, it makes me its victim. Its author was not ignorant of my devotion to the cause of Christianity, and my benevolent achievements in behalf of mankind; yet, he is silent concerning me, — says nothing of the laborious efforts and expensive sacrifices in the lonely work of carrying the blessings of Christian civilization into the very country of which he pretended to give a fair history. He, however, makes a single allusion to me, and to the party which constituted the first American settlement beyond the Rocky Mountains. It reads as follows:— "A party headed by Mr. Ewing Young,\* an American from one of the western States, arrived in the Wallamet from California, embracing about a dozen persons, most of them from the United States. Some of them had been sailors, some hunters in the mountains and in the region bordering on California to the south, and one Mr. Kelly was a traveller, a New England man, who entertained some very extravagant notions in regard to Oregon, which he published on his return."

I shall not trouble myself to say much in regard to this unfeeling man; or to this act of brutal cruelty towards the victim of his book.

It will be noticed, that one part of my name is omitted; the other part misspelt. It was purposely so done to deceive the reader, to conceal the *real* New England man. "On his return, he published some very extravagant notions." Have I been patriotic and faithful, and represented that country as being the finest on which the

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\* Hist. of the Colonization of Oregon Territory, attached to this book, page 7.

sun shines; and as possessing natural advantages for agriculture and commerce, unsurpassed in any other part of the earth? I have so been, and so published; and my *notions* are not *extravagant*. I returned in 1836; and, although suffering feeble health, — at times, prostration of health, — I continued to publish, for several years, chiefly in newspapers, my views concerning that fair and charming territory. I prepared a memoir relative to Alta California and Oregon, which was printed by Congress; it being a communication to the committee on Foreign Affairs in the House. Nothing *very extravagant* is found in it. Nothing but plain truths can be found in that document. Nothing but such, in any of the mass of publications from my pen, which, between the years 1825 and 1832, were so freely spread over the States to enlighten about Oregon; and to induce emigration thither; and to make that remote region accessible to missionary enterprise.

Both the editor of the Boston Rambler, and the author of the Ten Years in Oregon, had read Kelley's books, and tracts, and were alike well informed in that part of his history which appertained to the settlement of Oregon. Both were for persecuting Kelley; yet, how differently do they speak of him! It might be inferred from Lee's remark, as quoted from his book, that my name was not even to be associated with those of the pioneers of that settlement.

The following extracts are from the Rambler, May 22, 1847. The language to be particularly noticed is underscored by me.

"Whatever our right to Oregon may be, we cannot sufficiently congratulate ourselves that no war has taken place for a region of barren mountains, whose whole present value would not defray the expense of maintaining a single regiment for a single year; whose whole future one will have to be created by its actual settlers, since it possesses none of its own. Still, *hundreds*, we believe we might say *thousands*, have been lured to the valley of the Columbia by false representations and delusive expectations."

"Some *twenty years ago*, a crack-brained schoolmaster of Boston, named Kelly, got up an excitement about Oregon in the New Eng-

land States, and a society, called the Oregon Colonization Society. The *tracts* of this man and this society were *disseminated far and wide, and many were induced by them to abandon their homes and venture into the wilderness*, there to found a new State, and establish the very state of things they left behind. We have not learned, however, that either Kelly or any of his believers have ever realized any part of their expectations. From all we can learn, we believe that not a man has emigrated to the Columbia who has not bitterly rued his folly.

"*Kelly's promises were, indeed, magnificent.* According to him, this transmontane Canaan was a land of milk and honey, full of navigable rivers, and practicable in every direction. The timber tops ascended into the very heaven, the soil yielded more to the acre, spontaneously, than the cultivated fields of Belgium and Britain. No country offered such facilities for ship-building; how easy it would be to transport the grain of Oregon, in vessels of Oregon timber, to India, China and Japan! What facilities the country offered to the whale fishery and to railroad enterprise! The Columbia and its tributaries were, literally, choked with salmon."

The American missionaries named above, were the last men in the world, who should claim to have commenced the colonization of Oregon. They at first, actually opposed it. Daniel Lee, about the year 1837, under pretence of ill health, retired, for a season, to the Sandwich Islands. He left the healthful valley of the Wallamet for the arid plains of tropical islands. While there, he wrote letters to his friends in New England, giving them absurd, not *extravagant notions* of Oregon, accounts wholly uninviting to emigration.

Faithful missionaries of the cross never flinch from duty. Meanness and treachery are never traits in their character. They are useful, and help to keep in progress improvements in human affairs. Their ways are above the ways of mean and wicked men; and, they live in advance of the times, and not back of them, and can triumph over the powers of darkness, and glory in tribulation.

I regret the necessity of administering rebuke to the persons particularized on these pages. It is just I should do it, after twenty years' forbearance. They belong to a class of enemies who know my manner of life, and my sufferings; yet, they have no sympathy for me; yet, to

their conduct is to be attributed the loss of my health, the entire bereavement of a beloved family, the severest of afflictions; and the persecution armed with a thousand daggers, following me up and piercing me through. I say, it is not my duty, silently, quietly, without a degree of the resistance my feeble nature is capable of making, to submit to be robbed of my Oregon achievement by persons having neither hearts to plan, nor abilities to execute a work of that sort, a work, benevolent in purpose and herculean in performance, and replete with benefits to mankind.

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## CHAPTER X.

PERSECUTED BY THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY — ATTEMPTS TO BREAK UP THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN OREGON — CHARACTER OF CAPT. YOUNG — HIS TROUBLES WITH MC LAUGHLIN — HOW PERSUADED TO BECOME A SETTLER.

It was the policy of the friends of the Hudson Bay Company, both on this and the other side of the continent, for the reasons assigned on the 14th page of this book, to under-estimate my capabilities, and to keep concealed from the knowledge of my countrymen, my worthy deeds and achievements. In the event of failing effectually to do this; then, to depict me, as being a humbug and an impostor. This they have secretly and cowardly done; and, having entirely destroyed my usefulness to the public, the last sixteen years, in things appertaining to Oregon.

To give a farther explanation of those reasons. — The Company had in its employment, west of the Rocky Mountains, for nearly thirty years, from fifteen hundred to two thousand men, whose business it was to hunt and trade with the Indians; to speak plainly, to *cheat* and *kill* Indians, and get gain. The objects of my enterprise

in the same territory, was to *colonize* and to *humanize*, and to *save life*, as far as divinely permitted ; to subdue those wild regions, and make them appear charming like unto the fair fields of Christendom. Another object, one highly offensive to the company, was to drive the heathen out from the goodly land, beyond De Fuca's Sea. The reader, therefore, will perceive a conflict of interests, a threatened ruin to the company's monopolies, and the final overthrow of its power.

Doctor John McLaughlin, the chief officer of the company in Oregon, was kept informed of my movements in the States. The persecuting monster, anticipating my coming to the place of his abode, was ready, with sword in hand, to cut me down ; and, I was treated, at and after my arrival, with every demonstration of inhumanity. The lying spirit was busily engaged in spreading falsehood and calumny among the settlers and strangers, and in turning all against me. Much was said, to have an *unfavorable* bearing upon my character ; and, perhaps, a thing or two done to have a *fatal* bearing upon my physical nature. It was in part to break up the settlement which had cost me ten years of continued sacrifice and effort to form. The conduct of McLaughlin, then, seemed brutal ; and I know not, that, since he has ceased to be chief factor, it has been better. Doubtless, he has continued to operate with the friends and hirelings of the company, devising cunning plans, and employing to the utmost, his prolific powers of invention, to prejudice the minds of the public men, and prevent progress in my well-doing.

Describing things in general terms, is not enough in my case. It is necessary to particularize. I will, therefore, relate the leading particulars of the treatment experienced at and after my arrival at Vancouver, when, worn down, at the end of a perilous, wearisome and lonely journey, a journey of nearly six thousand miles, mostly through half-civilized Mexico, infested with robbers, and wilderness infested with bloody hunters.

From the landing on the bank of the Columbia, to the

fort, I saw none of McLaughlin's household, none of his American guests, nor other persons, save my conductor, (Rondeau,) and him (Flambois,) on whose arm I leaned for support: nor, afterwards, did any one come into the room where I was temporarily seated, but McLaughlin, who, after a few minutes, retired, leaving me alone. An hour of solitude elapsed, and a messenger came in, saying it would be inconvenient to accommodate me within the fort; but comfortable quarters would be afforded without. I was then led to a habitation outside of the stockade. So I "suffered outside of the gate."

It was a cabin, opening on the back side, into a shed, which, having been long a place for dressing fish and wild game, was extremely filthy. The black mud about the doors, back and in front, was abundantly mixed with animal putrescence. There was one good thing about it. It was the habitation of a respectable and intelligent man, a tinner by trade, who, with his occasional visitors from other parts, furnished me with much valuable information, concerning the statistics and geography of that country. After a few days, I was conducted to the hospital, which, also, was an unsuitable place for my abode, and no more favorable to the improvement of my health, than was the cabin; but it was for a short time, while the purposes suggested on the 14th page, as I suppose, could be accomplished.

The first person, after the physician, to visit me in that prison-house, was Captain Ewing Young, the veteran hunter, and the conductor of my party. His call was not so much to sympathize, (slander had, already, measurably repressed within him any generous feeling of that kind,) as to speak of personal abuse just received from Dr. McLaughlin; and of cruel treatment which he and the party began to receive, at the moment of their arrival in the Valley of the Wallamet. He remarked, in substance, that McLaughlin had insulted him, to provoke to a quarrel, and to get an excuse for hostilities; and that the company's farmers on the Wallamet had peremptory orders not to give or sell supplies, nor afford quarters or relief

to any of the party. That, up to that day, he had not been able to procure from them, at any price, any of the necessaries of life. He was satisfied, he said, of its being the company's intentions to drive him and the party, if possible, from the country, and prevent the settlement. Capt. Young refers to his troubles with McLaughlin in a statement made, in 1845, to Lieut. Sloeum, the government agent to Oregon that year. In that statement my name is mentioned, evidently with mistaken views about me; and with unfriendly feelings. In a letter addressed to me, not long after my release from the hospital, is a full demonstration of a deadly hate. He was one to threaten my life should I come into his neighborhood. As has been before stated, he and others of the party were made to believe me an impostor, and a defamer of their characters. There never was, I affirm it, the least personal misunderstanding between me and Capt. Young. His inimical feelings were wholly owing to the lying spirit going out from Vancouver, and going about to deceive those who were most likely to be friends and to stand by me.

I first became acquainted with him at Puebla, in California. Afterwards, the acquaintance became more intimate at the place of my encampment near Monterey, where, at times, I listened to the thrilling accounts of his eventful life. He seemed bold and enterprising. I was *persuaded*, he was the right kind of a person to accompany me to Oregon; and he was "*persuaded*" to go. He did go; and in despite of the loudest thunder of the company's power, became a permanent settler; and greatly, a promoter of the public interest in that territory. He had been, twelve years, a hunter about the wilds of Oregon, California and New Mexico; and had lost, perhaps, some of the refinements of manners once possessed; and had missed of some of those moral improvements peculiar to Christian civilization. Nevertheless, he was instrumental, under an overruling Providence, of much good in Oregon. He placed the settlers, and, indeed, the whole nation, under obligations to him for his uncommon courage and de-



terminated perseverance in maintaining the interests of the settlement. But for these noble traits of his character, McLaughlin would have at once driven him away; and the infant colony would have been broken up. He was, in other respects, useful. In 1836, he made a journey into California, bought and brought back several hundred head of cattle, and a large band of fine blooded horses.

Ewing Young was a native of Tennessee, and a true American. He died some years ago, on his estate in the Wallamet Valley. While in Oregon, he was greatly persecuted along with myself—slandered by McLaughlin, and represented to our government agents, as belonging to a party of *marauders*, and as one of “twelve or fifteen stragglers; and as a man unworthy the notice of his countryman.” His statement of troubles experienced for the country’s sake, furnished a public officer, and constituting an item of some importance in the history of the settlement of Oregon, remains unprinted in the State Department.\* O, justice, where art thou!—Gratitude, where art thou!

After fifteen or twenty days of confinement, the door of the hospital was opened, and I was glad enough to walk out into freer space, and breathe a purer air. Health had not been a whit improved by the incarceration. Debility was the trouble at the time of going in; and debility, at the time of coming out.

Relating events in chronological order, I will, here, remark concerning my baggage, which was now brought to me, after having been retained for several weeks at the house of one of the company’s farmers. The packages were open; and there is no doubt, judging from facts which came to my knowledge, of their having been overhauled, and their contents thoroughly examined.

Another circumstance reflecting on McLaughlin’s humanity, may be mentioned. Neither, while in the hos-

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\* Some further remarks concerning that useful man are to be found on p. 7, History of the Colonization of Oregon—a pamphlet attached to this book.

pital, nor out of it, nor, at any time during the six months' sojourn at Vancouver, did that man care, so much as once, to visit me; or, in a single instance, to permit his American guests who were, sometimes within a few rods of my sick bed, to come, even when apparently suffering the pangs of death, to come and administer comfort; or make to me a show of generous sympathy. I had not the happiness, even for once, of beholding the faces of the two naturalists who were the recipients of the company's civilities and liberal hospitality, and were receiving their "good things," while, myself, "evil things." One of them had resided in Cambridge, Massachusetts, for many years, within a mile of my place of abode, and had read my books, seen my works, and learnt, more or less, about the spirit which moved me. He was not ignorant of the fact that the only path leading to the country of *pretty flowers* west of the Rocky Mountains had been opened, wholly, at my expense; and his journey thither, had been made easy and pleasurable through my means.

Some of the party, after receiving information of my discharge from the hospital, made me several visits. The first were friendly. One was to invite to the Falls of the Wallamet, to survey and lot out the land as I had promised to do; and to lay out a city according to a plan prepared before leaving the States. A day for that service, two or three weeks off, was appointed; but, prior to its coming, other visits were made of an unfriendly nature — chiefly, I thought, to alarm my fears; and to discourage and vex me. Also, two letters were received from the party, threatening my life, if seen on the Wallamet. All things considered, I thought it prudent to keep from that quarter. Notwithstanding the threatening power of the enemy, and the circumstances of peril surrounding me, I was, daily, when strength enabled me to walk, making explorations; and was much about the woods.

Seeing that falsehood was making such sad work with my character; and, that calumny and mockery were the orders of the day, I addressed to John McLaughlin, Esq.

a manifesto, prepared, of course, with a feeble hand, declaring myself not to be a public agent acting by authority from the United States, as represented at Vancouver; but, to be a private and humble citizen of a great nation, a freeborn son of American Independence—moved by the spirit of freedom, and animated with the hope of being useful among my fellow-men.

To increase uncomfotables about me, a young man, half Indian, suffering a pulmonary disease, and fast nearing the spirit world, (in less than six weeks from that time, was in it,) was turned into my cabin to be a companion. I was glad of it. It seemed providential; for, he was intelligent, and had become pious; and had a mind well stored with knowledge of men and things, as they were, in that region. He had been a clerk to the physician, and employed in compounding medicines—had made lots of pills—made two kinds, black and white. The former were for sick Indians, and were fatal in their effects. This dying man, whose stories I believed to be truthful, revealed to me astonishing secrets belonging to the company's inhuman policy towards the Indians.

In the latter part of November, I requested a passage to the Sandwich Islands in one of the company's vessels, commanded by Capt. Lambert; but was refused. I had means to pay the fare, having brought from California a valuable mule and several fine horses. McLaughlin was cunning about it. He undoubtedly knew concerning arrangements made, when at Monterey, with Capt. Thompson and Mr. Nathaniel Spear, for them to come, after notice should be given, with a vessel, and bring from the islands supplies for the settlement, and commence in the trade and commerce of the territory. Though the fact, itself, might not be known to him, my having stated it was known. The party had spoken of it; and slander had noised it about. Now, it is rationally conjectured, that he supposed the objects of the voyage were to hasten the coming of the vessel. He may, also, have supposed, I should return back with a recruit of settlers, and other

means for accomplishing the objects of my coming to that country. Misrepresentations could effect more, at the islands, in breaking up plans for advancing the interests of my colony, in my absence, than presence.

The middle of December, I was suddenly reduced to prostration of strength, and to sickness. For twenty-four hours, I continued to vomit, and to have a severe relax of the bowels. My food, to all appearances, had been wholesome; and I temperately partook of such as was set before me, and knew of no particular exposure of health other than what would arise from the atmospheric impurities about the cabin. I continued sick and feeble, twelve days; at times, vomiting, and exercised with bodily pains. The physician, often sent for, declined to come; but, sent an abundance of pills and powders which were swallowed down. No visit was made me by any person, inside of the fort, excepting my kind friend, Cyrus Shepard, a member of the missionary family.

A silver dollar was sent to the store-house for necessities. The articles, called for, were refused, under pretence that the money was not genuine. The dollar was current, and the metal pure.

About the middle of February, I went into the fort to inquire after an acquaintance who had just come from the upper parts of the Columbia; and was met by McLaughlin himself, and told that the person whom I wished to see was engaged. The door was then insultingly closed upon me. The next day, the acquaintance with a countenance sadly changed from former days, came into my cabin, and strode across the floor. Sternly looking towards me, he uttered these words, viz., "Well, Kelley, how did you get here?" After making some abusive remarks, he walked out. His only object seemed to be to afflict, and to fill my soul with sorrow.

This man received from me his first impressions of Oregon, and the spirit of enterprise which led him into that territory. In the States, he enrolled his name in my emigration books, and was with me; but, at Vancouver, he joined my enemies, and was against me.

These were the acts and influences of McLaughlin. So he persecuted me, a stranger, sitting and sorrowing "in solitary places" in a strange land.

When about to leave Oregon, the chief factor of the company presented me with a draft of seven pounds sterling, payable at the Sandwich Islands. A part, however, was paid at Vancouver, in articles of comfort. This was kind, and I felt grateful for it.

All which appeared to others, generous hospitality in that man, did not clearly appear so to me, though I have ever had a respectful regard for him.

I will take this opportunity to correct an error, in my account of Oregon, published soon after my return home. Too liberal credit was given him, in that publication, for civility and kindness. I have an excuse, a plausible one, at least, for giving it. At the time of preparing the account, cruelties practised by him and his friends, which, more than all other things, had shattered my nervous system, and broken up an iron constitution, had, to a sad extent, enfeebled the mind. Furthermore, almost annihilation was threatened me; and I could see no friend coming to save me from the wrathful vengeance of the company's hirelings, gathering together for my utter destruction. Fear came upon me; therefore, in reference to personal treatment, I carefully omitted what might be offensive, substituting what was true only of his conduct towards other Americans. I acknowledge the sin. It was the first, and shall be the last of the kind to be put to my account.

On the 15th of March, 1835, I embarked on board the company's brig *Dryade*, for the Sandwich Islands. A berth in the cabin was to be given me, at the mouth of the river; but, when the time came, it was refused. However, I was thankful for one, any where. That more comfortable place in the vessel was occupied, while descending the river, by three of the company's sea captains, and a young Indian female, not then in her teens. One of the captains and the Indian girl landed at Astoria, then called Fort George. While the cabin was thus

being occupied, I was very content to be in the steerage ; to be, as far as possible, one side of a beastly debauchery, never again, I could hope, to be practised, or to find its parallel upon the pure waters of the Columbia.

The vessel, on the same day of setting sail, anchored a little below Wappato Island, and nearly opposite Wyeth's establishment. When the shade of night had come on, there being no moon, and but the dim light of the star-bespangled heavens, a noise, as of a gang of ruffians, was heard on shore. Inquiring to know the cause, I was told that some of the men had come from the Wallamet to take me from the vessel, and abuse me. Capt. Wyeth was providentially on board, then in the cabin. I knew he was there, though I saw nothing of him. His presence, or his interposing humanity, may have given a check to their proceedings. This is all I know of that occurrence. I made but few inquiries, and cared but little about it.

Head winds retarded for several days the descent of the vessel to the ocean ; which circumstance gave me an opportunity to make particular examinations of the river, and to collect materials for a correct map of the same. It, also, gave the beastly captains an opportunity to find out something more than they had previously known of him whom they had on board, and were, doubtless, instructed to mock. I have reason to suppose, they had received orders, brutally to abuse their passenger ; hoping the final effect of all would be distraction or death. But they were greatly mistaken in the man. One after another made attacks upon him ; but, in every instance, they were glad to retreat ; and were, finally, ashamed of the service, and of him who had appointed them to it.

Oppression and sufferings compose the subject of this chapter ; or I would stop, awhile, the narrative, and, in vindication of self, speak of the cock upon his own dung-hill, — of triumphs, and of the vanquished enemy. (See paper marked A., at the end of this book.)

I was terribly sea-sick through the voyage. The food furnished me was scanty and unsavory ; and at no time

was it such as I could relish. Breakfasts consisted, oftentimes, of tea made in an iron tea-kettle, which was sweetened with molasses, and drank from a borrowed tin cup; of coarse ship-bread, and cold boiled beef, or sturgeon, served in a small tub as dirty, inside and out, as the floor upon which the whole was placed. Dinners generally consisted of boiled salt beef, cold, lean, and hard; and of coarse bread, with, sometimes, duff, a pudding composed of flour and mashed potatoes, half-baked and clammy, — all without plate, knife, or fork.

The sailors, at times, spat upon my bed and wearing apparel; and, in divers ways, injured or destroyed the exposed articles of my effects.

Late, one stormy night, I was alarmed with the noise of water pouring into the steerage by the side of my berth. The tarpaulin over the hatchway, settling in the middle, filled with rain, and then sinking, (probably forced down,) on one side, discharged a bucket or more of water upon a trunk and clothes lying on it.

To put the climax to these cruelties, and to render my situation in the highest degree distressing, after I was found retired to rest, two or three sailors, besides the two whose berth was in the steerage, were in the practice of coming in, each with a pipe in his mouth, smoking at both ends. The wicks of the lamps were then raised high, the scuttle-door brought down, and the room, which was small, kept close. These were suffocating times. The condition of one who never used a particle of tobacco, and was reduced to great physical debility, is hardly conceivable by any, but the sufferer himself. This operation, often repeated, with others tending to enfeeble the body, contributed much, I think, in causing the present morbid state of the optic nerves.

Inquiries were often made of the captain, — Why all this abuse? He, as often, implied in his answers, that he was acting in conformity to orders. I solemnly affirm that once, when near the time of our separation, and in the way of excusing his conduct, he replied in these words, — “I must obey orders.”

I am not ill-disposed towards Mr. McLaughlin, or any of his friends; have said nothing in malice; have said nothing to injure the feelings, character, or fortune of any of them; nothing which reason, religion, and my conscience do not well approve.

## CHAPTER XI.

LIEUTENANTS SLOCUM AND HOWISON DECEIVED AND DUPED —  
CONDUCT OF GREENHOW, LIBRARIAN TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT, U. S. — THE NATION'S EXCHANGE.

VERY seldom has the author of any book, or public document, identified my name with the first settlement of Oregon. The public agents, the late Lieutenants Slocum and Howison, kept silent, although they had seen and conversed with the first settlers. The former was told, in 1835, by the settlers themselves, that H. J. Kelley "persuaded" them to settle in that territory, and conducted them thither. He was furnished with a written statement to that effect, which he evidently intended to publish. The paper was marked E, and referred to as composing a part of the appendix to his report to the government. But it was not printed; and he neglected to make any allusion to my name, on account, doubtless, of the very same influence at Washington, which, for so many years, has been working against me.

Mr. Slocum, after his return from Oregon, came to Boston, and put up at the Tremont House, where, agreeable to his request, I called upon him. He stated, that he had found in the hands of the settlers my book, called "The Manual of the Oregon Expedition," a book developing the *plan of the colonization* of that country. He expressed himself satisfied that the settlement was com-



menced through my instrumentality; and proposed to mention the fact in his public report.

Here is a demonstration, in part, of what I have so often stated; that, to accomplish some evil device upon me, and to carry out some plan of intrigue upon our country, unprincipled and treacherous men have caused me to be made the victim of all books and reports concerning Oregon; my very name to be *suppressed* in them; even some of the material vouchers to my statements to Congress to be *abstracted* from the files of the committees, or, otherwise, to be *taken from* their possession; and my character to be *aspersed* and *defamed* in periodicals and newspapers, and in all the variety of ways which slander is wont to do in effecting its purposes; and they would cause a bloody extinguishment of life itself, if that could be done without incurring the imputation of right-out murder.

The report of Lieut. Howison to the commander of the Pacific squadron, Feb. 1, 1847, while it is profoundly silent, as to the founder of the first establishments in Oregon, makes the following declarations, namely: "The American missionaries were the first persons to attempt any establishment in Oregon, independent of the Hudson Bay Company." "A few American hunters, not numbering over twelve or fifteen," (the number of persons in my party from California, including myself,) "straggled into the country about the same time." (See Report, p. 14.) It would have had more the appearance of truth to have chronicled, that a few American hunters, *skilful laborers, enlisted by Hall J. Kelley*, came into the country to finish the foundation of the NATION'S EXCHANGE,—a building which that engineer had planned and commenced,—a structure to be of stupendous magnitude, whose lofty dome, ere long, reflecting the effulgent light beaming from the highest heavens, will be seen from the darkest and most distant parts of the earth.

Howison, very likely, was deceived and led into errors by McLaughlin and the Lees; the one who would have Kelley deeply buried in oblivion; and the others would

rob him of plumes which they themselves had never earned, and were incapable of making.

My opinion is, that those two lieutenants were worthy men, honest and patriotic; and that the injustice done me, in their reports, is to be attributed to misrepresentations made to them, on both the Pacific and Atlantic shores, by the Hudson Bay Company, and those, our own countrymen, who, in some way or other, had been induced to promote the special interests of that company.

The History of the Northwest Coast of North America, by Robert Greenhow, translator and librarian to the state department, was printed by order of the Senate of the United States, under the expectation of its being a plain and candid memoir. In my apprehension, it is not such; is neither plain nor candid; but, as far as the book treats concerning the colonization of that coast, and the American claims, as it was previous to 1846, to the Pacific shore north of the 49th parallel, it is delusive; and is calculated to deceive on certain subjects of great private and national interests, both the people and government of the United States; and artfully adds, it seems to me, quantity and variety to the tissue of misrepresentations, contrived at Vancouver.

I find myself abused, on account of fidelity to my countrymen, throughout the book; beginning on the map prefixed to the title-page. The medal, of which impressions are there given, was handed by me to the Hon. Caleb Cushing, to be deposited in the library of Congress. Credit, therefore, should have been given to Kelley, and not to Cushing.

I put into the hands of the late Hon. L. F. Linn, chairman of the select committee on the territory of Oregon, in the years 1838 and 1839, a mass of documents and papers, the same which are named in the schedule at the end of my History of the Colonization of Oregon. They were loaned, as I have good reason to believe, by that worthy senator, to Mr. Greenhow, who could not safely pass them by in silence. He made use, in part, of the information,—careful, however, to make

such use as might meet the wishes of British subjects. It will be recollected, the book was reprinted in Pater-noster Row, London. In reference to the evidences of the land purchases on Quadra's Island, included among the papers in his possession, he remarks on page 122, — "That the transactions here described, between Kendrick and the savage chiefs, did really take place, there is no reason to doubt: it is, however, *scarcely probable that the validity of the purchases* will ever be recognised by the civilized nation which may hereafter possess the country adjacent to Nootka Sound." Was this candid? Did he give a reason why they should not be recognised? He may have presumed too much on the stupidity of the then advocate of the claimants; and thought, that, with a single effort of his pen, he could strip the purchases of all their worth; and, with a single oblique thrust, could kill a claim demonstrated by numerous indubitable facts, to be reasonable and just, and of great value, a claim\* of widows and orphans.

When at Washington, in 1848, I inquired of Greenhow for some of those papers; particularly, an advertisement printed in London, 1795, in four different languages. I was curious to regain possession of that ancient document. He denied knowing where it was. I, also, wished to know about the medal. That, he said, was in the patent-office. It was not in the patent-office, nor had it been there. I next called at the library which was under his care, to see Capt. Ingraham's journals, having obtained permission to examine them, with the intention of copying some statements relative to Kendrick's voyage and the land purchases. At first, Greenhow being absent, the second librarian said the journals appeared to be missing; but he would make further search. After calling several times, some days intervening the calls, and finding they had not been returned to the archives, I

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\* This claim is powerfully opposed by the friends of the Hudson Bay Company.

addressed a note to the Secretary of State, and then, two or three weeks after my first inquiries, those journals, full of valuable information concerning the claim, were forthcoming.

My name (a part only) occurs but once in the history by Greenhow; although the things which I had done and suffered for Oregon were known to that author; and my memoir, embraced in the congressional document, (Rep. No. 101, House of Representatives, 1839,) showing what led to the settlement of that territory, was before him, showing that *Hall J. Kelley*, without even a single coadjutor by his side, to assist, planted the germ of empire on the Pacific shores; an event sufficiently remarkable to have attracted his attention, and to have entitled me to some more respect than he seemed disposed to pay me.

On the 14th page he briefly speaks of me, omitting, as is the policy and uniform practice of my enemies, a part of my name; and misspelling the other part. The Christian names of all other persons, and they are numerous, introduced into the book, even the longest of Spanish names, requiring two or three long breaths to utter, are remembered and correctly written; but, strange as it is, the short *Hall J.*, printed with fair type, in a multiplicity of papers which were before his eyes, was unseen, and the *Kelley* so indistinctly recollected, as to be misspelt. In Lee's book it is *Kelly*, and so in Greenhow's; which thing indicates their having concerted what to say.

After marking my name as nothing worth, he throws to me a sugar-plum, calls me patriotic; and then, as if wholly to turn the mind from thoughts of Kelley, suddenly, with a sort of admiration, turns to the name and exploits of Capt. Wyeth, whom he makes the hero of the remainder of his book. In describing (p. 191) the expeditions of Wyeth and Bonneville, he slips meanly by the origin of those enterprises, and keeps dark concerning him who caused them.

With great injustice to me, (p. 199,) he says, — "The

first emigrations from the United States, for the purpose of settlement, without any special commercial views, appear to have been made in 1832." There is a sentence in Howison's report, of similar meaning. The style of this and that are so similar, I should think one pen wrote them both. However, it matters not who writes, if the *truth* is told.

Two persons, only, that year, reached Oregon for the purpose of settlement. Others leaving New England in their company, were frightened by deceiving hunters in the service of some fur company, and turned back before far ascending the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains. John Ball, Esq. and Mr. Calvin Tibbets, men of principle and inflexible integrity, were induced to emigrate by me. They travelled with Wyeth in Capt. Sublette's party; but had no connection in the business of any one whose *views were commercial*, and adverse to colonization. These facts were known to Greenhow, at the time of writing the book; and he should not have been so careless of my character, as not to have mentioned them.

He further says, "Three years afterwards, a small colony of Americans was established on the Wallamet, under the direction of Mr. Jason Lee and other Methodist clergymen." This statement is false; and was made to award the credit of the "first establishment" in that country to the "American missionaries." There were no persons with the Methodist clergymen to compose a colony. Of course, no colony was established *under* their direction. Two years afterwards, not *three*, a colony of Americans was established on the Wallamet, including the missionaries, by the "patriotic American," whose name is so artfully and cruelly kept out of sight in Greenhow's statements.

His silence concerning me is not a matter of which I would complain, farther than it has a hard bearing upon my character and fortune. It has had a terrible bearing upon both.

He might, with consistency, have interspersed his book with things relative to my enterprise and adventures,—

spoken of philanthropic projects and mighty achievements, — of hardships, perils, and “hair-breadth escapes,” — and of remarkable interposing providences of God. I have no vanity to be gratified in his doing it; but justice demanded it to be done.

Enough, I trust, has been said to satisfy the reasonable reader, that Greenhow belongs to the troops of the Hudson Bay Company, marshalled and drilled for the special service of destroying me, and of preventing the government recognition of the claim of some of our citizens to lands now occupied and coveted by that company.

During the wearisome years, when hardships had broken me down, and sickness had rendered me incapable of self-defence, my enemies were bold and unmerciful. At times they almost overwhelmed me with troubles; they persecuted nigh unto death.

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## CHAPTER XII.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE CONDUCT OF OPPOSERS OF THE OREGON ENTERPRISE—ITS RESULTS BENEFICIAL TO MANKIND—OBJECTS OF THE AUTHOR’S JOURNEY THROUGH MEXICO — CIVILIZATION OF INDIANS — RAILROAD FROM THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI TO THE SHORES OF THE PACIFIC — RELATIVE TO THE AUTHOR’S CLAIM ON MEXICO FOR INDEMNITY — THE AUTHOR AFFLICTED WITH AN AFFECTION OF THE OPTIC NERVES — RAILROAD ACROSS THE ISTHMUS TO PANAMA — RAILROAD FROM VERA CRUZ TO THE CITY OF MEXICO — SLANDEROUS IMPUTATIONS — VINDICATION OF THE AUTHOR’S CHARACTER AND RIGHTS TO BE FURTHER ATTEMPTED — GREAT TRIBULATIONS.

THE Oregon enterprise was one of my own getting up and carrying through. The wise confessed it to be magnificent and benevolent. The best part of my life was exclusively devoted to it; and the whole of my substance

and earthly comforts were sacrificed to consummate its accomplishment; and, it resulted, as at its conception I supposed it would, in making Oregon and California the abode of civilization; and both, integral parts of the United States' domain: and in extending more widely the blessings of Christianity.

To the unthinking, it doubtless appears strange, that an enterprise, pregnant with benefits to the world, should be opposed; yet, to oppose was as natural as for sparks to fly upward, or for vicious men to do evil. On account of that undertaking and the advancement of its objects, I have been afflicted. They have persecuted me without cause.

I am aware of the fact,—the word of Truth, and of personal observation have strongly impressed it upon my mind, that those who would live godly lives, and lead in great and purely philanthropic enterprises, are as certain to be vexed and persecuted, as covetous and ambitious men, whose only pursuits are the acquisition of property and worldly honors, are ever to be actuated by feelings of jealousy or revenge. No man liveth, loving his neighbor as himself, and faithfully discharging duties, without trials of patience, without troubles and tribulations. From the day my plan to colonize Oregon was first publicly promulgated, to the present, I have been made greatly to suffer—more, when attempting to conduct emigrants to that territory, than before or since.

The objects of my journey through the Mexican dominions, were to benefit others more than myself. Not only did that journey subject to incredible hardships and sufferings, but greatly exposed me to the pursuing and subtle enemy. At New Orleans and Vera Cruz, the hostile troops made bold and fierce attacks. They, there, almost overcame me.

That circuitous route, instead of a direct one across the Rocky Mountains, was wholly induced by a desire of effecting some arrangements with officers of the Mexican government and distinguished individuals in that country, relative to the lumber and fish trade between the Colum-

bia River and the Mexican western ports ; \* and for extending, in proper time, my *colonizing operations into High California* ; and, also, by a desire of turning the attention of the people in the cities of Mexico to some better system of education than had ever been adopted by them ; and, generally, to such internal improvements, moral and physical, as would most likely lay a better foundation for freedom, and multiply in their land the conveniences and comforts of life.

Thirty years ago, my lamp was trimmed and burning. Then, devoted to the cause of humanity, I planned for improving the condition of the North American Indians ; and devised a system of humane and fair dealing with that benighted and oppressed race of men.

More than twenty years ago, partly to bring about the good planned for the Indians, I projected a railroad to communicate between the valley of the Mississippi and the shores of the Pacific. Reference to that project is made in my Geographical Sketch of Oregon, printed in 1829 ; and in the Memoir to Congress, in 1839, relative to the statistics and topography of that territory. It has often been mentioned to scientific and enterprising men ; and is described in my journals and papers. Had enemies let me alone, the road would have been graded from one end to the other before this ; and Oregon, before the year 1840, would have teemed with a population from our own blest country ; and Alta California would have become the possession of the United States earlier than it did ; and have cost less money, and no blood ; and that whole wilderness, dark as it was, ere this day, would have been changed to shining fields and flowery gardens ; and society there, would have been dressed in lovely attire, and robed in charms of moral beauty.

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\* I obtained the executive permission to hold correspondence with the Mexican government on those matters. Health becoming impaired, nothing was done relative to the trade ; nor upon the other subjects *directly* with the government. I applied to that government through Mr. Montoya, Charge d'Affaires at Washington, for permission to conduct across that country (from Vera Cruz to Acapulco) a company of emigrants, with their effects.



The route begins on the bank of the Missouri near the mouth of the Kansas, crosses the back-bone of the continent through a depression near the 43d parallel, lays along the valley of the Snake River, and crosses the Columbia at Wallawalla; and, again, it makes a mountainous transit on the westerly side of the valley of Clark's River, where, intelligent hunters suppose no formidable difficulties exist to be encountered; and terminates in a delightful and fertile tract of country near the southern extremity of Puget's Sound, there, to connect with the interminable tracks of the ships of the great deep. The eligibility of that place for a terminus, and for an entrepot and depot, can be fully conceived of, only by those who understand the natural advantages of that portion of Oregon for commerce and agriculture; and know the chart and all about De Fuca's Straits. That sea has an entrance nearly twenty miles in width; and is spotted with islands exuberantly fertile. Its shores are indented with many fine harbors; and its surface is a smooth expanse, seldom agitated by furious winds; and the largest ships that float can safely enter it, and can safely sail over, and anchor in any port of it.

My plans differ, in some respects, from those by Mr. Whitney, now before the public. His, I think, are well devised and matured. His ideas, as, in 1848, I understood them from the projector himself, in regard to the routes, to the execution of the work, and to the benefits to accrue to the world, especially, to our nation, seem consistent and sound: in my apprehension, there can be none better.

He would have the one half of a strip of territory sixty miles in breadth. The United States to retain the other half, — every alternate section. Mine propose just half of that breadth; and looking to Indian ameliorations, give to the native tribes a portion of the lands for a possession, and appropriate a portion for their Christianization, and for improvements in their affairs and fortune.

When in California, in 1834, exploring the valley of

the Sacramento, where, at that time, none but wild men dwelt ; and, none but savage hunters roamed ; cogitating upon internal improvements, I planned a branch to extend from some point in the route, after the transit of the Rocky Mountains, to the Bay of San Francisco. This coincides with the views of the Hon. T. H. Benton, expressed in a speech made by him in Congress, upon the subject of a railroad to the Pacific.

My thoughts are still on the execution of these desirable and heaven-suggested improvements, and on the resources which the road would open to the people of this country for wealth, knowledge, and national superiority. Should health and strength ever again be equal to so great a labor, and my enemies loosen the cords that bind me, hand and foot, the two projects, Indian and railroad, remaining unaccomplished, I shall engage in them with what science and skill I possess, and with my accustomed zeal and perseverance, hoping to be able to add them to the list of my achievements. I intended to have gone into the work, as soon as practicable, after my return home ; but sickness, and almost entire prostration of strength, interposed to prevent. I had fallen among robbers, who half killed me ; and my wounds remained undressed. Even to this day, they are unhealed. Nevertheless, feeble as I was, and suffering extremely from the nervous affection in the head, I wrought, in 1837, at railroad engineering. Debts \* contracted in 1832 to advance the colonizing of Oregon, compelled me so to labor.

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\* One of the debts (about \$400) cancelled, from the earnings of that year, was due a firm of merchants in the city of New York. In 1832 was purchased a variety of articles for culinary, mechanical and farming purposes, such as were thought indispensably necessary to the use of those whom I was about to settle on the Wallamet in Oregon. They were packed in a tierce, and constituted a part of the baggage, which was lodged for safe keeping, a few days, in the custom-house at Vera Cruz, and was taken from me. The property, under the circumstances of my travelling, was not dutiable. One of the objects of the custom-house officers, and the others by whom they were led, was, doubtless, to plunder, and to induce my return home. While in that city, I was daily urged to return ; and I should have had

I expressed on the fourth page an earnest desire to help the Indian race. Reference is, there, made to the Appendix. Papers concerning them, and the railroad project, are marked B and C. At the earliest opportunity, when the pen has completed its service, they will be hereto appended.

In an enlargement of this book, and in papers to be appended, in order for a perpetual *record*, will be told what remains untold about my manner of life ; plans and purposes of doing good ; patience, faith, and charity ; and more about the terrible persecution ; and will there be told, in my loudest tone of voice, what misanthropes did to break up an enterprise, now resulting in permanent good to our countrymen ; and concerning projects long ago conceived, which, partly on account of feeble health, but chiefly, the cupidity of covetous and wicked men, are unaccomplished.

My claim for indemnity was preferred against Mexico in 1840 ; and a more just claim could not be. I think it probable, the minds of the American and Mexican commissioners were so darkened by my enemies, about them, as to see no merits in the claimant, and not to care to open his case.

In the year 1837, I surveyed three railroad routes in the State of Maine, each, however, of short extent, having the assistance, only, of two or three men unacquainted with engineering, and employed on the out-door work. I planned, figured, drafted, and performed the office-work ; besides, the entire labor with the field instruments. The service was laborious ; quite too much for my broken-down constitution. I suffered through the whole season of making these surveys, severe pain in the head, proceeding from the affection of the optic nerves. In the beginning of the following year, I did what I had never

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a plausible excuse for doing it. One of the villains whom I had caused to be released from prison at New Orleans, was there, seeking an opportunity to demonstrate his murderous intentions upon me. I was aware of the manœuvring of those officers, and of the men who had thus far followed me, and of him who was stationed there.

before done; ceased for a while from hard labor. The advice of the ablest physicians in our land was, to give quiet to the nerves. Rest to the eyes, and also to the mind, in their opinion, could afford the only ground of hope in my case. Although this advice was good, yet I could not wholly comply with it — could not all at once, break from long continued habits of intense thinking and hard working. Still I believed it unsafe to do any thing requiring severe exercise of eyes, either in using, personally, the pen or optical instruments; but, might with impunity, under circumstances, such as would not tend to nervous excitement or irritation, or impair usefulness, superintend work in my professional business. I, therefore, determined to continue in some field of useful enterprise; and turned to a project then on foot, from another quarter; that of a canal or railroad across the Isthmus to Panama. That choice was made, partly to prepare for memorializing Congress on the subjects of the construction of the Pacific railroad, and the civilization of the Indians in the United States' territories. It was thought, that working in the conspicuous position of a chief engineer, two or three years, in a southern climate, would limber the limbs for operations in a northern; and the work itself would render honorable testimony to my capabilities; and be commendatory letters to men in the councils of our nation.

Accordingly, I went to Washington, in the close of 1838, hoping, under the government auspices, to make myself useful, in opening to the world a railroad thoroughfare between the two great oceans. I conferred with Mr. Mercer, Chairman of the Committee of the Senate, on Roads and Canals, who said, a report would be made, favorable to the enterprise. Such a report was submitted and accepted; but no appropriation was made, and nothing further done by Congress upon the subject.

This is not all which the spirit of benevolent enterprise, and the love of doing good, have led me to do, and attempt in that direction. While exploring the country between Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico,

I became satisfied of the feasibility of a railroad route between the one and the other of those places. Desirous of seeing Mexico benefited with the same kind of institutions and improvements, as those effecting such great things for my native New England, I planned and advised that improvement—especially, would I have internal improvements commenced without the least possible delay, in a country, where the common people were but a little in advance of the heathen; where most of the roads were in a state of nature, and the earth bore but few marks and evidences of civilization dwelling there.

The improvement suggested by me was a topic of frequent conversation with Wilcox, the American consul at Mexico, with whom I quartered several weeks; and with other enterprising foreigners. It was one of the subjects of a communication to President Santa Anna, describing, according to my apprehension, what would be the utility of railroads and some better system of common school education, to the Mexican Republic. The immediate consideration of them both, was urged with all the pathos and force of eloquence at my command, which was not much.

From the time railroads first came into use, I have been strongly impressed with the belief, of their being among the powerful means, under Divine Providence, of improving the condition of man; and of their constituting one of the principles of progress in the march of mind and spread of freedom, civil and religious—one of the prophetic thunders which, in these latter days, with a voice louder than when lions roar, utter knowledge. While the improvements to which I refer, beautify the country they intersect, they bring distant places near; and strangers to hold converse, and to commune together; mind is brought in contact with mind; and sentiment is enlightened with sentiment. By increasing intelligence among the people, and the means and facilities for magnificent undertakings, they accelerate great moral movements, and bring about wonderful things in the earth.

The consul was an understanding man, and influential. He and others wishing well to Mexico, promised to do what they could to cause the improvement. Shortly after my return to Massachusetts, I had the satisfaction to learn, that the road had been commenced. It does not follow, as a thing in course, that the undertaking originated from any thing I had said; but, there is a possibility; yes, a probability, and some strong indications of such being the fact.

Having spoken, quite enough, of good deeds to others, I will now make further mention of evil deeds to myself.

Who are those who do me harm? They are ill-disposed and treacherous countrymen; mean and unprincipled men; hirelings of the Hudson Bay Company; contemptible tools, employed to impoverish, harass and vex me. Some to pick my pocket; others to afflict, and to overwhelm with troubles—all to prevent my onward course. They have followed me from place to place; from Boston to Vera Cruz; and plundered and abused me from New England to Oregon. They brutally treated me at Vancouver, and during my passage to the Sandwich Islands; and have continued to slander throughout my acquaintance; and to persecute in the cities of Boston, New York, and Washington; and to mock and ridicule in public journals; in the Comic Almanac, of which twenty thousand copies were printed in 1838. They converted the powerful press into an engine for my destruction, and turned it against me; and for the last thirteen years, have oppressed and vexed me in the dark village of Three Rivers, Mass., the place of my present abode, and place of my exile. See pamphlet called "*Hard Usage in Three Rivers.*"

*Plunder and slanderous imputations* are some of the ways by which they would accomplish their devilish purposes upon me.

In the beginning, to thwart my movements, and to break up an expedition preparing for Oregon, to consist of several hundred emigrants who had enlisted for it, they sought to get from me every dollar of property in

my possession, whether belonging to others or myself; and by cunning and trickish manœuvring, succeeded in getting hold of my estates, and a large amount of personal property. Taking advantage of the near approach of the time fixed for my departure with the expedition, and of my lonely and almost friendless condition, they got from me, first of all, the homestead in Charlestown, at less than one third of the true value of that princely estate; nor, did they deal better by me in regard to other estates.

One of the plunderers, at the commencement of his inhumanity towards me, was young, sprightly, and to all appearances, harmless, and of good habits; but soon became dissipated and vicious; and indulged in beastly carnalities; and died as sometimes a diseased brute dies, a loathsome object,—to be pitied, when living, to be sure. This event, like many others which could be mentioned, seems to show, that we have about us an avenging Providence, caring for the “little ones” of Christ’s kingdom.

In Palmer, in 1832, a considerable amount of property was snatched from me; and in the summer of the same year, an equal amount, in Boston, was drawn from my possession. While inquiring among the merchants, and in the hearing of opposers to my efforts for a vessel to be used in transporting freight to the Columbia River, an old sea captain was sent to advise relative to my object; and to lead me into a snare. The policy was to reduce my funds; and, in that way, to retard progress. The captain thought it advisable to buy rather than to hire a vessel; and, as the brig J. Q. Adams was for sale, to buy her, gravely promising, at the same time, to be a large owner; and, thinking himself seaworthy, to go in her, as first mate. He stated the sum which he would invest, and where that sum was in deposit. I consented to his propositions, made the purchase and the first payment, and commenced repairs; but before the day for making the second and last payment, he was off and missing; so I was left to suffer disappointment,

mortification, loss of property, and an increase of distressing anxieties.

The losses at New Orleans, including what the corrupted men of my party caused me to expend at that place, in lawsuits, and what, from necessity, was left on shore at the moment of my re-embarkation; and also, what the two felons, released through my merciful feelings from prison, carried away, amounted to several hundred dollars. See Chap. I., p. 7. The damaged property thrown overboard from the vessel which carried me on her quarter-deck, during remarkable extremes of weather across the Gulf of Mexico, added to that which was stored in the custom-house at Vera Cruz, and of which I was plundered by Mexican officers, in connivance with certain American citizens, was a very considerable amount, and much more than I was willing to lose at that stage of the progress of the enterprise. See Chap. I. and II. of the History of the Colonization of Oregon.

There were other losses between Boston and the Columbia River. A vessel had been engaged to be at Acapulco at a certain time, to take myself and party, with my effects, to the Sandwich Islands. The party having been dismissed at New Orleans, and a large part of the effects taken from me at Vera Cruz, and, in consequence of the latter occurrence, having been detained over two months at the City of Mexico, rendered it impracticable to be in season, at the place appointed. These and other distressful circumstances caused a change of my route; and more than a year of delay in my arrival at the final place of destination.

The enemy came to Three Rivers, or rather, in 1842, came again to vex me, and to plunder my property; to load my mind with troubles; and to hasten the decay of my nature. Here they have made a bold descent, attempting to carry off my hard earnings, and what had providentially come into my possession, even all the earthly substance belonging to me. About the place of my residence they continue cunningly to manœuvre as though the devil himself was at the head.



Oppression becoming intolerable, I felt provoked to resist; and in 1845, brought a suit in law against certain individuals of them, in defence of my rights. Damages, here, up to the present, may justly be estimated at something more than \$2000. However, the suit, and the pecuniary embarrassments caused by their conduct, outraging all that is decent in business transactions, will soon determine the precise amount. See Appendix\* to the pamphlet, to which reference has been made.

Thus, I have briefly pointed out the circumstances of their attempting to impoverish me, and to deprive me of means, the only means, as they supposed, of progress in the benevolent and patriotic enterprise, which they, with all *their means*, — cunning, plottings, zeal, treachery and wealth, — so powerfully opposed. Choosing darkness, they have continued therein, being deceived and deceiving others concerning the man whom they would destroy. There is no lack of persons who, in view of *rewards or advantage*, are ready to be deceived, and to sacrifice the truest of friends; and, who have talents and influence to ruin a country, but no principle or integrity to save one.

Now, let them stop and reflect, — wheel about, and reverse their motives and plans; and demonstrate inclinations to deal justly and truly with me. If they will not do this, then, let them go on; iterate falsehood and calumny as much as they please; but not in the cowardly manner they have hitherto done, making their thrusts in the dark.

It remains to remark particularly, as to the slanderous imputations of those acting with so much fidelity to the Hudson Bay Company; and so faithlessly to their countrymen. *Visionary, crazy, stupid, no means or mind to do any thing.* These are their words.

I am Hall J. Kelley; that is my name; am what edu-

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\* It gives, in detail, the particulars of hard usage at Three Rivers. Its object is to enlighten friends concerning the originating causes of domestic afflictions, the desolation of home, the dishonor paid me in my house, and the brutality practised upon me by certain influential persons near the place of my residence.

cation, habits, and the grace of God have made me. Endeavors to do right; a disposition punctiliously to perform every duty in life, render me deserving the esteem of all wise and good men; and the sympathy and relief I humbly ask of the public. *Visionary and crazy* — I have often been spoken of, in this way; not to my face, but where slander can best succeed in doing its work. These opprobrious appellatives were applied to me in public journals, and from the mouth of calumny, when all devoted to the cause of humanity; when planning and effecting great and good things for the people of my country. My projects were *numerous* but not *idle*. They were no more than, with a *clear* head and a *sane* mind, I could accomplish. The following is a list of the principal of them. How far they indicate mental imbecility or derangement, the candid who have been about me can judge. The Colonization of Oregon, and the Settlement of the wild parts of Alta California; A System of Humane Dealing with the Indians of North America; A Canal from Boston to the Connecticut River (before railroads were understood); Improvements in the System of Education in my adopted State; Improvements in the first class of Elementary School Books, used in the Common Schools; The first Sabbath School Book used in New England; The Organization of the first Sabbath School in the same portion of country; Several Railroads, such, as it was supposed, would be of public utility. These, and many others, were my plans; and they were all practicable; and most of them were brought into operation through my instrumentality. I planned, though not lastly, a course of conduct, which, with faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, will fix, I trust, my abode beyond the persecutions of this evil world, where the "wicked cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest." (See paper C, in Appendix to History of the Colonization of Oregon.)

Be it, in the opinion of unreasonable men, that I am a visionary, a crazy man, or a humbug. It is not the design of my remarks to prove to the contrary; my handy works, every where in the fields of my labor, sufficiently

testifying in these respects; but to show how cruel and how much like madmen my persecuting enemies have been.

*Stupid* — stupid as they are pleased to represent me, I have intellects enough to discriminate between friends and foes; to judge, and that justly, of the good feelings and the merciful regards of the one; and of the wicked devices of the other. It is true, the ken of the greatest understanding can penetrate but a little way the mind of the wise, to know its secrets; yet one of ordinary acuteness can penetrate through that of my worse than stupid defamers. As stupid as I am, I can discern the intents and purposes of those seeking to deprive me of my good name, of my earthly substance, and of the comforts and endearments of life.

*No means or mind to do any thing.* — It was so stated in the City of New York, in the hearing of a multitude of persons. It has often been repeated in other places; and in the hearing of public men, implying that I had done nothing towards settling Oregon. I pronounce this a consummate falsehood, uttered with a malicious design.

I have on some previous page truly said; the conception was mine. The sacrifices were mine, great as they were. The achievement was mine, without mortal help; virtually made, before I left this for that side of the continent. The enduring of twenty years of a merciless persecution, has been, alone, mine.

Mean and misanthropic men picked my pocket; and deceiving, induced the benevolent to withhold their munificent proffers, and their help. What of that? My means for carrying civilization and the knowledge of God into Oregon, chiefly came from the inexhaustible storehouse of heaven. The Almighty God, the Creator of all things, hath said, in reference to human undertakings whose objects are his glory, "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit."

I have said much concerning self, and now find it indispensable to say more. With as little self-esteem as self-respect, I shall be able to describe the powers and

qualities of my mind ; and to satisfy, that it is not strictly true, that I am "without mind to do any thing." For natural endowments, I have nothing to boast of ; yet, the operations of my mind, I think, indicate *sanity*, and such gifts as elevate character, as high above the characters of my grovelling enemies, as the clouds are above the ground.

It is due chiefly to early parental instruction and training, that my mind is what it is. Blessed with intelligent and pious parents, who led me in early youth to fear God, I came into active life *serious minded* ; and much inclined to consider on my ways, and to seek to know what could make me useful and happy. Before the years of manhood, I resolved on a fearless obedience to the divine commands ; and to the present, I have continued to desire and to pray for the possession of capabilities and substance to bless the suffering mortals about me.

There is nothing like the godly instructions and virtuous examples of a mother. She can better mould the mind for pure motives and generous actions ; and can better guard against evil propensities, and prevent bad habits in children, than the father, or the school-teacher. It was a mother who taught me never to take the name of the Lord my God in vain, — never to be guilty of the sin of insulting the Almighty with the breath he gives. She impressed my mind with a profound and pious reverence for Jehovah, and with a high and solemn veneration for the institutions of Christianity ; and so impressed it with the love of truth, that not a single doubt, as to the divine authenticity of the Scriptures, ever profaned the sanctuary of my heart. Her instructions and examples inclined me to be diligent and persevering in business, and faithful and patient in the discharge of duties ; to be hospitable and merciful, — when enemies hunger and thirst, to feed them, and give them drink ; and to bless them that persecute. Finally, by the grace of God, I hope I have the love for my neighbor, which meets the divine requisition ; and am disposed to do all

the good in my power for him, and for the country, and mankind in general; and to endure every evil coming upon me, with patience and pious heroism.

I say, therefore, I have mind; and have been measurably useful. Intellectual gifts, purity of motives, benevolent actions, and a spirit of public and high-minded enterprise, have made me so.

I will take this opportunity, for the first, and probably the last time in my life, to explain what is of no interest to the public, my position in society, as to politics and religion. I will do it in a few words, and in language of divine inspiration. Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty; there is individual freedom; there is, also, the spirit of philanthropy; and the spirit of martyrs to meet any event, or to encounter any difficulty in obeying the commands of God; and there I am, steadfast and true to my brother man, — ready to march with, to fight with, and to die with freemen, godly heroes, valiant soldiers under the all-merciful, all-wise, and all-powerful Prince of Peace.

It cannot be denied, but I have had a mind capable of doing much for Oregon. The very nature and magnitude of the undertaking to colonize that territory, bespeak a mind as gifted as the mind of any one of its opposers; and the eleven years of entire devotion to it, also, bespeak a philanthropic spirit, which never moved in the bosoms of such narrow-minded men as its enemies.

The testimony of my works, showing the possession of an ordinary amount of mental power, is adduced more to rebuke those who deny me that possession, than to prove the reality. Those works are not so numerous, nor so mighty, as, under different circumstances, they would have been. I have not accomplished even all attempted; nor attempted all I would, on account of interferences and evil reports of slanderers. The overseers of the fields of enterprise were made to believe me incapable of doing "any thing"; and, therefore, refused to employ me. They were told that snow-white was jet-black; and believed it. Notwithstanding all the opposing diffi-

culties which enemies were able to throw in my way, I forced forward into the work ; and have labored hard, bearing the burden and heat of the day ; and ingratitude and persecution seem to be the reward for it all.

I am not left without comfort. There is comfort in the approvals of conscience, and smiles of Heaven ; and great satisfaction in the belief of having directly caused good to mankind ; and indirectly, other good, by exciting in others, of greater capabilities, corresponding zeal and efforts with my own, which are producing new means and moral influences. They, perhaps, ultimately, will cause far more glorious results in the earth, than any I have been, directly, the feeble instrument in bringing about.

There are items of credit to be placed to my account, which the public think not of. My books and pamphlets had gone into the hands of leading public men, and into all parts of the country, describing the Oregon Territory, the prospects of traders and farmers who might settle there ; and the benefits of a commercial intercourse with the islands and shores of the broad Pacific, long before Lieut. Slocum's Mission, or the South Sea Expedition was planned.

I confess, my mind has suffered a diminution of its powers : nevertheless, my enemies are liars. It is a sad truth, and sorrowing do I speak of it, the mind has suffered violence, and is not all it once was. It has been enfeebled with the body, and has lost a portion of its elasticity. Oppression has done it. Between the years 1830 and 1832, when law-suits, unfounded in justice, were brought against me ; when harassed, and followed about by sheriffs and constables, fear came mightily upon me. I was not afraid of men, even coming, blood-thirsty and ferocious like wild beasts ; but, trembled, and often hid myself, fearing delays and hindrances to the expedition preparing for Oregon ; and disasters to the enterprise. Then, the mind received its first shock. The second was received at New Orleans, and during the passage to Vera Cruz ; and the third, and most terrible, at the Columbia River, and on board the *Dryade*, while

making a voyage to the Sandwich Islands. These shocks, together with hardships, broke down my constitution, and brought on a premature decay of my nature. They produced a nervous affection in the head, which, for nearly twenty years, have confused my thoughts; and have disabled me to write without severe physical suffering, or to converse without stammering. After the first, diffidence was increased, and became distressing; so that, on public occasions, particularly, my thoughts were wont to forsake me, and to put me to open shame.

It may not be, here, improper to describe the minds of those who have so unmercifully, and so long a while, persecuted me. It will go to develop their true characters; and to show the unreliability of their statements. Most of them, judging from what my eyes have seen and ears heard, are aspiring demagogues, or avaricious and sordid speculators; and have but little love for their neighbors, but little love of mercy. Pursuing after worldly honors or riches, they tread down every person in the way to these highest objects of their ambition. Their best acts, only show the deep depravity of their unregenerate natures; and an entire want of purity of heart and magnanimity which exemplify the principles of Christianity. With their tongues, they profess a veneration for the laws and institutions of the empire of Christ; but, their conduct wholly evinces a disregard of them. I have never discovered, among *their* mental endowments, the least of that philanthropic energy which gives impetus to benevolent enterprise; and makes one bold to expose the ways of tyrants, and strong to vindicate the rights of man. They are full of hypocrisy, pretending to know little or nothing of my manner of life, when, in truth, they know much about it. My performances have been on open and high ground, and in daylight, before them. Books, pamphlets, newspaper essays, and a hundred tongues, have been the heralds proclaiming in their ears my capabilities, enterprises and achievements.

Unfortunately, in some respects for me, there existed among the inherent qualities of my mind, power and dis-

position to befriend my countrymen, and to break away the hold which the cupidity of the Hudson Bay Company had fixed upon Quadra's Island. It was this, that alarmed them; and they sought by every stratagem and device to crush that power and disposition. This is the *secret* of the whole matter.

It is not strange, Congress men should find it difficult to understand my merits, since so few espouse my cause, and so many cunning and powerful men misrepresent and defame my character. How my wearied spirit would feel cheered, and drink in consolation, should even one of the illustrious delegates of this great nation, assembled at Washington, investigate and understand the things I allege to have suffered and done, and attempted to do; and in his place, should express sympathy for me; and advocate my cause, but no pitying voice is heard in my behalf; and no tear has fallen for me.

I live on, like some aged oak, lonely, on some bleak summit, withstanding storms and tempests, and smitten by thunderbolts, a branchless trunk. By the help of God I live on; suffering poverty, the loss of health, and the bereavement of companion and children, and a persecution, terrible; and, in respect to duration and the number of powerful and cruel perpetrators, doubtless, unparalleled in this age and country.



## APPENDIX.

### A.

To hasten the universality of Christian civilization and freedom was very near the leading object of my travels through the Mexican dominions. Of course, I was unlike the many travellers in foreign countries, who write useless books; unthinking, unknowing, unobserving, and idle, indifferent to every thing about them, but what administers to self, and the little things which usually attract the attention, and gratify the curiosity or propensities of little minds.

Enough of facts have been detailed, on the preceding pages, to show the objects for which I have lived; enough can be cited from my journals, to show to what cause has been the entire devotion of soul and body, the most of life; and enough from my correspondence with distinguished and magnanimous-minded individuals, to satisfy of the good planned and attempted for those inhabiting the dark regions of the earth. However, without a particular desire to magnify self-importance, I will give a few extracts from the journal of my travels to Oregon, to remove from my character the vile aspersions which vile men have cast upon it.

From a letter to the Second Comptroller of the United States Treasury, dated City of Mexico, August 24, 1833.

"I am making arrangements to leave immediately for San Blas, expecting, on the way, no 'protection by virtue of the laws of the land; no other than the kind which vultures give to lambs, taking and devouring them'—no other *earthly* security than such as will be afforded by unarmed servants, and my personal defensive weapons.

"About twenty days ago, the cholera, in its fearful and desolating march, reached this city, and has slain thousands. In the space of five days, four thousand persons are said to have died. A remedy brought with me, furnished by William Darrah, M. D., Professor of Principles and Practice of Medicine in Pennsylvania Medical College, Philadelphia, has saved, it is believed, the lives of some thousands of the higher class of population. For the poor who fill the streets, there seems no escape from death. Their condition, and that of those in all

the villages, is truly deplorable. Sleeping upon the ground between rush mats or filthy blankets, without physicians or medicines, or even knowledge of means for relief, they are peculiarly exposed to the terrible destroyer. The work of death goes on among them unopposed.

"Gen. Santa Anna has found in the monster a formidable enemy, irresistible in attack, and cruel in victory. There were slain by that foe, near Guadalajara, in one battle, over two thousand of his army; and many who escaped were panic-struck, and are deserting. The patriotic and intrepid general is making a new draft, and will be able, I trust, to put down his rebellious *fellow-citizens*, though Gen. Arista and Col. Duran lead them.

"The evil outbreaks and commotions constantly occurring in Mexico are not likely ever to result in any beneficial effects to the people. The fundamental principles of government must be different, more in harmony with the principles of Christianity. The policy of the governing power must be changed. Under present circumstances, while the whole nation is living in sottish ignorance, without schools for the youth, and without a heaven-taught ministry, unenlightened and inexperienced, as to practical freedom and the blessings of Christian civilization, that policy should be more arbitrary, and the government less republican.

"When the consummation of the happy state of things comes, — and would to God it would speedily come, — that Mexico is regenerated; and only by the general diffusion of education and useful knowledge, and by the preaching of the gospel, — with the strongest emphasis, I say, by the promulgation of the religion of Jesus Christ in its purity, can she be born again. Then may there be less arbitrary sway, and more freedom; then bloody internal contests will cease, the rights of man be supported, and the peace of the nation great and enduring.

"Mexico should have more light, and the sympathy of neighbors. Other nations should help her. It would be right, that her elder sister republic, the powerful and opulent United States, should help her, and make her a loan of a few millions of money, to be applied exclusively in laying the foundation of freedom just described. Unless such a foundation is laid; and the monsters, ignorance and superstition, are driven from the land, political delusions, elandestine disorders, war, and bloodshed and human sufferings will continue; and she will remain heathenish and accursed, even unto the time when the angel of God will announce to the world, time is no more."

*Education.* — Expecting to find in Mexico the system of education extremely defective, I went prepared to make, or rather to suggest, improvements. I was well qualified for it, having been myself a teacher, most of the time, from the age of sixteen years to that of thirty-three; and myself having made improvements in the art of teaching. It was desirable to see adopted, there, the excellent system of instruction practised in some parts of New England, where, moral, mental, and physical instruction are measurably united; and where, the

mind is not matured at the expense of the body, and mind and body are invigorated with wholesome exercise; and the pupil comes into manhood with health and strength, evincing in his avocation skill and dexterity.

The same benevolent gentleman who furnished the prescription for treating the cholera, also, favored me with pamphlets and papers, developing the plan of the Manual Labor Academy of Pennsylvania. The system of discipline and instruction in that institution seemed preferable to that in any other of my enlightened land. This plan and system were communicated to Richard M. Jones, Esq., Principal of the State Institute, at Guadalajara, in which youth were taught on the Lancasterian mode of instruction. Mr. Jones was satisfied of its pre-eminent advantages, and engaged to exert his influence for its general adoption in that country. I was particular to explain it to other foreigners in other cities, whose intelligence and positions gave them influence with the leading citizens.

#### VACCINATION AMONG THE MEXICAN INDIANS.

I received from the benevolent hands of N. R. Smith, M. D., of Baltimore, and William Morton, M. D., of Georgetown, D. C., a supply of vaccine matter, which was carefully applied to the benefit of Mexicans.

#### SOME OF THE THINGS WHICH LED TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILD PARTS OF ALTA CALIFORNIA.

I had conceived it to be within the scope of my means, to colonize the upper parts of California, and to do as much for the growth and prosperity of settlements there, as for those I should make further north; and intended, on reaching the metropolis of Mexico, to apply for the powers of an *empresarias*, but found in that country my state of health such, and the state of public affairs such, as forbid a direct application to the government. I had, however, conferences with individuals upon the subject,—with Col. A. Yhary, Col. Quevido, and other distinguished public men. My proposition was favorably received, and I was encouraged to hope the right of colonizing would be secured to me by charter. Col. Yhary assured me it would be on certain conditions, such as we had conversed about, and as were unobjectionable on my part.

Extracts from a letter, dated Nov. 1, 1833, Guadalajara, Al Exmo. Sor. Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna Presedante de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos.

“A few days before leaving the City of Mexico, Col. A. Yhary and another gentleman attached to the army, with patriotic intentions inquired to know the terms on which I would engage to introduce settlers into Alta California. I was very ready to give an answer, and

to converse upon a subject which was so in accordance with the feelings of my heart.

"The country adjoining on the north, is the Oregon Territory, which it has been the sole object of my labors, for several years past, to colonize, and am now on my way thither to consummate my plans.

"I have collected much geographical information of Oregon, and some of California. That of the former has been published in a book, copies of which are in the possession of the gentlemen to whom I have made allusion. Alta California, in its physical character, is doubtless much like that of Oregon, and is a delightful country; and, when occupied by an enlightened people, instructed in the principles and precepts of Christianity, and skilled in the various business and callings of civilized life, will become a valuable and interesting portion of the Mexican empire.

"The conditions of a charter, under which I have proposed to settle the northern wilds of Mexico, are as follows:

"First. — To be under the obligations and responsibilities of an *empresarias*, and to have the rights, privileges, and immunities here following, described; and to settle that part of Alta California, situated between the 37th and 42d parallels, and extending from the Ocean to the Colorado River.

"Second. — The *empresarias*, at his own expense, to cause the territory to be accurately surveyed, and a map to be constructed; and to make such divisions of the lands as may be found best adapted to the convenience and occupancy of settlers, and to public utility; in all instances, to identify the boundaries of each section or lot with meridional lines and parallels.

"Fourth. — To have full powers to treat with the occupying Indians, and to extinguish their land titles, giving to each Indian, male or female over the age of sixteen years, in part relinquishment of their claim to the territory, a lot of land; the same in dimensions as shall be drawn by any settler. The Indians respectively to hold without the right of alienating their titles to persons not of their blood and tribe or nation.

"Fifth. — To provide for the intellectual and moral improvement of the Indians.

"Sixth. — To have the right, whenever the good of the settlements may require, to lay out and construct common roads, railroads, and canals. In any case of a canal, the *empresarias* to have a strip of land on each side, not exceeding one fourth of a league; and in case of a railroad, to have a strip on each side, not exceeding three fourths of a league, in addition to the rights and privileges otherwise chartered to him.

"Eighth. — Any vessel arriving in any port within said territory, and bringing thirty or more settlers, to enter free of all port charges; and any vessel trading regularly and directly between said territory and any settlement in Oregon, made by said *empresarias*, until said settlement shall come under national jurisdiction, to enter free of all port charges."

## ATTEMPTS FOR A MINUTE EXPLORATION OF ALTA CALIFORNIA.

The portion of California northward of the Janquin River, excepting some spots at and near the Bay of San Francisco, as late as 1834, remained unsettled. Contemplating its colonization, I had several interviews, while at Monterey, in the summer of that year, with Gen. Figueroa, the Governor of the Californias. I was desirous of public patronage and his co-operation; and, also, of making such minute explorations as would afford a correct knowledge of the topography and capabilities of the country, and enable me to delineate its prominent features upon a map, preparatory to the introduction of settlers from a distant land into that region.

The following is a reply to a letter upon the subject, addressed by me to the governor.

\*~\*~\* "Es muy laudable el pensamiento de V. y muy digno de su  
L. S. ilustracion el proyecto, de reconosex los terrenos incultos de  
\*~\*~\* este Territoris hasta la línea donde confina la Republica para  
levantar un mapa esacto que dé á conoser al mundo geograficamente,  
la situacion, producciones, y demas elementos de riguera de que és  
susceptible este pais, y que aun son desconosidos. Mucho plaser  
tendria yo en contribuir á unos descubrimientos tan importantes, pero  
me encuentro sin facultades para protefer la empresa, por estar  
reservadas ál supremo Gobierno General tanto el conceder la licencia  
para levantar mapas, como el decretar la erogacion de gastos en esa  
ó cualesquiera otra empresa.

"En tal concepto, y en el de que deseo vivamente los adelantos de  
mi patria, reconocido ála generosa disposicion que V. me manifiesta  
para emprender una obra tan difeíl, como arriesgada, y dispendiosa,  
soy de sentir que su proyecto, lo someta ála deliveracion del supremo  
Gobierno á quien yo protesto renitirlo y recomendarlo con el émpeno  
que en mi concepto merece; pero esto no lo verifícare hasta que V. me  
conteste si és ó no conforme, y se propone aguardar la resolucion.

"Tengo el honor de protestar á V. mircepeto y consideracion.

"Dios y Libertad. Monterey, 26 de Junio, de 1834.

"Sor. Don HALL J. KELLEY."

"JOSE FIGUEROA.

[Translation of the preceding letter.]

\*~\*~\* "Your thought is very laudable, and very worthy of your  
L. S. illustration is the project of surveying the uncultivated lands  
\*~\*~\* of this territory as far as the boundary line of the Republic,  
for the purpose of constructing a map which would geographically  
show the world the situation, productions, and other elements of wealth  
of which this country is susceptible, and which, as yet, are unknown.

"I shall feel much pleased in contributing towards such important  
discoveries; but I find myself without faculties to protect the under-

taking, it being reserved to the supreme government, as well the granting of license to construct maps, as the furnishing of funds for this or any other undertaking.

"Therefore, and because I earnestly desire the prosperity of my country, grateful for the generous disposition which you have manifested to undertake a work as difficult as dangerous and expensive, I am of opinion you should submit your project to the supreme government, to which I will remit it and recommend it with the efficacy it deserves; but this I shall not do until you inform me whether it will be agreeable to you, and whether you propose to wait the answer.

"I have the honor to assure you of my respect and consideration.

"God and Liberty. Monterey, June 26, 1834.

"Senor Don HALL J. KELLEY."

"JOSE FIGUEROA.



